Daily Report

Central Eurasia

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Key Developments

Yeltsin Concerned About Pre-Election Political Splits

LD1310141195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1304 GMT 13 Oct 95

[By Andrey Shtorkh]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW October 13 (ITAR-TASS) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin is concerned that political forces are splitting in the runup to the parliamentary elections in Russia and that criminals try to become Duma deputies.

Yeltsin expressed this concern at a meeting on Friday with chiefs of republics, subjects of the Russian federation. The President said that "everybody is interested in the formation of a constructive corps of deputies", Sergey Medvedev, the presidential press secretary, who was present at the meeting, told ITAR-TASS.

The President noted that more than 50 political associations wishing to participate in the election have already registered with the Central electoral commission, although not all of them will go the election campaign through.

The President expressed concern with the marked intensification of the activities of criminal elements wishing to get into the State Duma. Yeltsin is aware that some candidates in regions were threatened. They were urged to withdraw their candidatures. The President said that it is necessary to ensure that there are no more such cases and that every case when a deputy was threatened should be investigated.

Yeltsin noted that the opposition had become more active and said that this factor should be taken into consideration during the election campaign.

Lebed Remains With KRO While Joining New Movement

LD1510192695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1846 GMT 15 Oct 95

[By Tamara Ivanova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, October 15 (ITAR-TASS) — General Aleksandr Lebed, the former commander of the Russian 14th Army, remains deputy chairman of the Congress of Russian Communities (CRC) [KRO] despite becoming parent of the new public movement Honour and Motherland.

Lebed said in an interview with ITAR-TASS that he has no controversies with the leadership CRC.

According to Lebed, the new movement is not a political organisation or electoral bloc, but rather has long-term plans.

As for his pre-election campaign, Lebed said he is meeting with electorates in different cities of Russia.

Reform of the Russian army may become part of the CRC's platform in the forthcoming election to the Russian State Duma, Lebed said.

Hounour and Motherland welcomes new members, Lebed said.

He said it was initially planned to name the movement the public committee for military reform.

However, that name was dropped because another movement, For Military Reform, has been formed by Russia's Democratic Choice led by Yegor Gaydar, the Committee of Soldiers' Mothers, other public groups and higher school students refusing to join the army.

Lebed described this movement as "radical in its demands".

He said its populist calls to dodge military service and playing on grief of parents whose sons died in the army shock the military.

Lebed said he does not want the new movement led by him to be mistaken for "such military reformists as Gaydar and his team".

Agrarians Establish New Electoral Association

MM1710080495 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 14 Oct 95 p 1

[Report by Pavel Yemelin: "Public Movement Set Up in Support of Candidate Deputies from the Agrarian Party of Russia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] There was a meeting in Moscow on 12 October of leaders of agricultural organs and working people of agro-industrial complex sectors together with members of the public. It was decided to set up a public movement in support of the "Agrarian Party of Russia" electoral association.

"The establishment of this movement is a logical step in the development of the Agrarian Party and of the country's entire agrarian movement," Mikhail Lapshin, chairman of the Agrarian Party of Russia [APR], said. "By its very nature, composition, and sphere of activity and influence the APR is by no means a parochial sector party but a national, all-Russia party. The APR organization is active in all regions of Russia, including

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Chechnya. Our members, who incidentally now number more than 350,000, are not only agricultural workers and agroindustrial complex working people. Well-known academics, lawyers, teachers, doctors, writers, journalists, and artistic and cultural figures are members of the Agrarian Party. I hope that the newly created public movement will provide powerful support, not only moral, but above all organizational, for every State Duma candidate deputy from the agrarians' electoral association.

Zaveryukha To Lead Association

MK1410131195 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 14 Oct 95 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Aleksandr Zaveryukha Will Head the Agrarian Movement of Russia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A unified agrarian movement has been created in Russia. Representatives of public organizations, agroindustrial sector enterprises, research institutions, and the intelligentsia have taken part in its constituent meeting. Aleksandr Zaveryukha, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Government, has been elected chairman of the movement's coordination council.

Yabloko Leader Yavlinskiy Addresses Economic Issues

LD1610174295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1621 GMT 16 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ST PETERSBURG, Oct 16 (INTERFAX) — Leader of the Yabloko movement Grigoriy Yavlinskiy says the government's inability to attract small-size private savings and insurance and pension funds for industrial investment, particularly into the energy sector, is its main failure.

Speaking in St. Petersburg on Monday [16 October], he described as pre-election rhetoric Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin's recent statement holding out promises to compensate thousands of Russian investors cheated out of their money by crooked companies.

Yavlinskiy said that the country's reforms were in fact being carried out in favor of the minority and what was happening was squandering of public money on the war in Chechnya and the upkeep of government bureaucrats. In his view, any Russian government must be anti-crisis and predictable for a lengthy period, but financial stabilization must remain a cabinet priority.

Yavlinskiy described foreign credits and continued exports of raw materials as a drug only relieving the pain of production slump now running at 40%-50% of the 1989 figure. And he warned Russia would enter into a phase of mass unemployment unless there was a crucial review of government economic policies. "Russia would find it very hard to get out of such a situation," Yavlinskiy said.

Daily Sees Election Spending Limit Insufficient

MM1610144495 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Oct 95 p 4

[Article by Irina Savvateyeva under the "Elections-95" rubric: "If You Want To Be a Deputy, Pay Up"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In Belgorod Oblast two kilograms of flour have been given for a voter's signature on the party lists, while in Krasnodar Kray it has been a bottle of beer. Let us try to solve a simple little sum: How many carloads of flour or cases of beer need to be distributed to collect the number of signatures required to take part in the elections?

In general, the cost of an election campaign is a very well-kept secret. Even our interlocutors — specialists in organizing the actual campaigns — did not cite any definitive figures.

The experts were adamant about one thing, however, the 10.488 billion rubles [R] ($2.4 million), which the law sets as the ceiling for spending out of an electoral association's electoral fund, is actually in no way sufficient.

For example, expenditure on purchasing the signatures necessary for a Russian citizen to be nominated as a prospective deputy is not laid down by any law. However, the estimated cost of this "service" is well known to politicians — an average cost of R2,000, with a range from R500 to R10,000.

The professionals' services cost much more. The remuneration of a specialist in preparing and conducting the election campaign — let us provisionally call him a manager-cum-organizer (no common terminology has yet become established in this market) — can vary between $500 and $5,000 per month. If the candidate wins the election, the fee doubles — the payment for "watering the crops" being augmented by a payment for the "harvest" itself.

The price also grows because a consultant never works alone. Usually a whole team of professionals from different disciplines — three to seven people, as a rule — work on behalf of each candidate. They, in turn, recruit assistants, several dozen extra people whose job is to be at their beck and call whenever or wherever needed. The cost of such a team's services during the organization of elections to regional organs of power varies on average from $5,000 to $20,000. However,

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this is not the ceiling. For example, the team which ran a brilliant election campaign for one very well-known leader cost the winner $50,000.

The campaign to become a State Duma deputy for a single-seat district could, however, cost the candidate $25,000 to $150,000. Cases are known where candidates have paid out up to $300,000 to the organizers of their success. Specialists maintain that if these kinds of sums are involved, there can be no doubt that some people are buying deputies' immunity and seeking to escape criminal responsibility.

Specialists' scale of charges include an hourly rate. The services of a consultant psychologist, for example, cost $40 to $50 per hour. Rich parties can afford to pay $50 to $60. The charge for such services could run to $200 per hour. But there are only a few such specialist imagemakers in the country capable of commanding such a high fee.

The lecturers who instruct teams on all the subtleties of election campaigning earn $20 to $40 per hour. While the costs of polling are calculated on the basis of $6 to $12 per questionnaire. Let us note that for a poll to be representative the polling agencies have to question 800 to 1,200 or 1,500 people. The conclusions drawn on the basis of such a poll cost extra. On average, a poll without analysis costs $6,000; with analysis, $9,000. In certain cases the price for these services can jump to around $30,000.

However, the lion's share of election campaign expenses comes under the heading "production and distribution of publicity material."

The creation of a 30-second plug costs $8,500. A film of similar length but with computer graphics is cheaper. It might cost $5,000.

An information film, the organization of a piece of reportage to be shot at the scene of an event, costs $1,500 to $2,500 if it takes place in Moscow — $2,000 to $3,500 if shot in other Russian cities. We are talking here about a feature item lasting 3 to 10 minutes.

Placing a plug on television is an even more expensive pleasure. For example, one minute of air time on Channel One costs 3,500 (and we are not, of course, talking rubles here) if so-called indirect advertising is being used. If an item is run, say, during a news program. Direct advertising on Russian Public Television at prime time costs $15,000 to $30,000 per minute. Direct advertising on radio costs $150 to $350.

Direct advertising in newspapers is not often used: It is ineffective and expensive. On the other hand, "semi-official" channels are employed pretty often. As a result the publication of an item costs customers one-third what it would if they paid the standard advertising rates. Putting all the aforementioned into plain language: The venality of Russian journalism is so great that there is virtually no point in parties resorting to direct political advertising. It is simpler and cheaper to pay a journalist a...so-called fee and get the desired result. However, my interlocutors did let slip the acknowledgment that placing publicity through unofficial channels in popular newspapers with a good circulation and reputation is much more difficult than all the other publications.

Publicity such as posters and leaflets are also widely used in election campaigning. A flier costs, as a rule, between $1.40 and $2.80. A leaflet costs 60 to 90 cents.

Publicity can also come virtually cost-free. You just need to take a spraycan and write something unexpected on a wall. For example: Vasya Pupkin is a thief and murderer.

One very curious feature in general should be noted: The amount of money put into the election campaign and the chances of success in it are far from directly proportional.

And yet another curious pattern was noted by my interlocutors: The closer to power a prospective deputy is, the less he pays. The most generous fees are guaranteed by candidates from commercial structures or those candidates whose election campaign is singled out for support by specific commercial structures.

"I have acted as consultant to the presidential team several times, and have not gotten a kopek for it," one of my interlocutors told me.

My interlocutors, who have worked more than once with candidates occupying pretty high-ranking posts at regional level, also highlighted the following feature: If such candidates banked on the existing administrative structures when conducting their election campaign, they lost, as a rule.

In the view of specialists, Boris Yeltsin, as the chief participant in the future and current election battles, is coming completely unstuck. The explanation for this is very simple: The president is surrounded by a circle of associates-cum-apparatchiks who do all they can to prevent — God forbid — the circle becoming any wider. But their experience is narrow, highly specific, and completely divorced from the actual life of ordinary Russian citizens.

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LDPR Signature Collectors Seek Police Protection

LD1510141895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1342 GMT 15 Oct 95

[By Valeriy Rudenko]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KALUGA October 15 (ITAR-TASS) — Two collectors of signatures in favour of the Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR) have petitioned the local Oktyabrskiy police department, seeking police protection.

Lured by the promised fee of 1,000 roubles per signature, the two collectors filled signature sheets with names "spun out of thin air", were exposed but proved unwilling to return the money to their employer.

Then the fraudsters were ostensively "brought to the forest and were forced to give back the money under the penalty of physical violence". Upon securing the return of their 500,000 roubles, "LDPR militants" conceived a desire also to get 5,000 U.S. dollars from the two signature collectors — for material damage.

Giving a good thought to the situation, the unscrupulous collectors of signatures appealed to the police, seeking protection and producing as a proof of the entire story a receipt from a leader of the local LDPR organisation, certifying the return of the money by the collectors, the newspaper Znanya has reported, without giving the names of the petitioners on the plea of the on-going investigation.

'Democratic Choice' Candidates for Single-Seat Districts

964E0035C Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Oct 95 p 6

[List of candidates for deputy to the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation for balloting in elections for single-mandate electoral districts, presented by the electoral bloc "Russia's Democratic Choice—United Democrats." Appendix to protocol of Conference of the Electoral Bloc "Russia's Democratic Choice—United Democrats," 26 August 1995, signed by Presiding Chairman A. N. Yakovlev and Secretary I. A. Kharichev. Copy of list registered with the Central Electoral Commission of the Russian Federation on 5 September 1995 (Decree No 1297-II)]

[FBIS Translated Text]

Gorno-Altayskiy Electoral District No. 2

Zubakin, Semen Ivanovich. Born 4 May 1952. Control-Inspection Administration of the Russian Federation Ministry of Finance, chief controller-inspector for Republic of Altay. Resides in city of Gorno-Altaysk.

Birskiy Electoral District No. 3

Kopsov, Anatoliy Yakovlevich. Born 6 April 1942. Federation Council of the RF [Russian Federation] Federal Assembly, member of the Committee on the Budget, Finance, Currency and Credit Regulation, Monetary Emission, Tax Policy and Customs Regulation. Resides in city of Ufa.

Kirovskiy Electoral District No. 4

Galikeyev, Faiz Mukhametsafiyevich. Born 4 March 1935. Retired. Resides in village of Nizhnyaya Tersa, Chishminskiy Rayon, Republic of Bashkortostan.

Oktyabrskiy Electoral District No. 5

Yakupov, Zamir Safinovich. Born 18 March 1952. Individual-private enterprise "Vira," director. Resides in city of Ufa.

Sterlitamakskiy Electoral District No. 7

Ramazanov, Marat Davidovich. Born 28 April 1939. Institute of Mathematics, Russian Academy of Sciences, head of department of computational mathematics. Resides in city of Ufa.

Tuymazinskiy Electoral District No. 8

Khayrulina, Dina Munirovna. Born 7 July 1959. Editorial staff of newspaper "Idel-Ural," correspondent. Resides in Dmitrovskiy leskhoz, Ufimskiy Rayon, Republic of Bashkortostan.

Buryatskiy Electoral District No. 9

Tarasov, Aleksandr Konstantinovich. Born 4 October 1945. Union of Entrepreneurs of Buryatiya, chairman of the governing board. Resides in city of Ulan-Ude.

Makhachkalinskiy Electoral District No. 11

Sutayev, Magomed Sutiyevich. Born 29 August 1963. Makhachkala branch of "Metrokombank," manager. Resides in city of Makhachkala.

Karachayevo-Cherkesskiy Electoral District No. 15

Khabicheva, Asiyat Akhiyayevna. Born 29 December 1945. Karachayevo-Cherkessk section of the "Russia's Democratic Choice" Party, chairman. Resides in city of Cherkessk

Karelskiy Electoral District No. 16

Chukhin, Ivan Ivanovich. Born 13 April 1948. State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly, member of the Committee on Security. Resides in city of Petrozavodsk.

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Syktyvkarskiy Electoral District No. 17

Bobrakov, Igor Alekseyevich. Born 26 December 1954. Newspaper MOLODEZH SEVERA, assistant editor-in-chief. Resides in city of Syktyvkara.

Mariyskiy Electoral District No. 18

Kozhevnikov, Valeriy Viktorovich. Born 3 November 1953. "Novator" plant, test-driver. Resides in city of Yoshkar-Ola.

Yakutskiy Electoral District No. 20

Zernov, Mikhail Sergeyevich. Born 19 May 1961. Professional Union of Shareholders and Investors, chairman. Resides in city of Moscow.

Almetyevskiy Electoral District No. 22

Shtanin, Aleksandr Vasilyevich. Born 10 June 1942. Kazan State University, docent. Resides in city of Kazan.

Naberezhno-Chelninskiy Electoral District No. 24

Bikulov, Rinat Abdullayevich. Born 20 December 1959. Kamsk Polytechnical Institute, docent. Resides in city of Naberezhnyye Chelny, Republic of Tatarstan.

Privolzhskiy Electoral District No. 26

Mikhaylov, Valentin Vakhtangovich. Born 31 January 1944. State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly, chairman of the Subcommittee on Constitutional Federalism, Committee on Affairs of the Federation and Regional Policy. Resides in city of Kazan.

Tuvinskiy Electoral District No. 27

Nikolayeva, Tatyana Vladimirovna. Born 24 July 1947. Supreme Hural of the Republic of Tyva, member of the Committee on Economics. Resides in city of Kyzyl.

Izhevskiy Electoral District No. 28

Skrynnik, Vitaliy Nikolayevich. Born 9 March 1955. Udmurt State University, senior instructor, chair of philosophy. Resides in city of Izhevsk.

Khakasskiy Electoral District No. 30

Mityukov, Mikhail Alekseyevich. Born 7 January 1942. State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly, first deputy chairman. Resides in Moscow.

Kanashskiy Electoral District No. 32

Alekseyev, Vladislav Alekseyevich. Born 24 May 1946. Apparatus of the representative of the RF President, specialist-expert. Resides in city of Cheboksary.

Cheboksarskiy Electoral District No. 33

Kubarev, Eduard Alekseyevich. Born 28 September 1939. Control Administration of the Russian Federation President's Administration, deputy chief. Resides in city of Cheboksary.

Biyskiy Electoral District No. 35

Kiryanov, Vitaliy Dmitriyevich. Born 15 October 1946. AOZT "Bystroistokskiy Butter and Cheese Plant and Peasantry," executive director. Resides in village of Bystryy Istok, Altay Kray.

Slavgorodskiy Electoral District No. 87

Kolobova, Albina Ivanovna. Born 25 September 1938. Altay State Agrarian University, head of chair. Resides in city of Barnaul.

Kanevskiy Electoral District No. 39

Istomin, Vladimir Nikolayevich. Born 12 October 1943. Newspaper ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI NA DONU I KUBANI, editor. Resides in city of Yeysk, Krasnodar Kray.

Krasnodarskiy Electoral District No. 40

Shukshina (Fedoseyeva-Shukshina), Lidiya Nikolayevna. Born 25 September 1938. Actress. Resides in Moscow.

Novorossiyskiy Electoral District No. 41

Chernichenko, Yuriy Dmitriyevich. Born 7 August 1929. Peasant Party of Russia, chairman. Resides in city of Moscow.

Prikubanskiy Electoral District No. 42

Gubarev, Viktor Andreyevich. Born 5 May 1949. Krasnodar Kray organization of the "Russia's Democratic Choice" Party, deputy chairman. Resides in village of Chernomorsk, Severskiy Rayon, Krasnodar Kray.

Achinskiy Electoral District No. 45

Zorin, Dmitriy Konstantinovich. Born 1 January 1937. Limited partnership "NORDOST," general director. Resides in city of Krasnoyarsk.

Yeniseyskiy Electoral District No 46

Lisun, Lyubov Nikolayevna. Born 17 December 1958. Limited partnership "Krasnoyarsk Insurance Agency 'SK-Hoper'," general director. Resides in city of Krasnoyarsk.

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Krasnoyarskiy Electoral District No. 48

Tetelmin, Vladimir Vladimirovich. Born 19 August 1944. State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly, member of the Committee on Ecology. Resides in city of Krasnoyarsk.

Arsenyevskiy Electoral District No. 49

Vershinin, Eduard Nikitich. Born 15 January 1936. Organizational-methodological commission, Medical Department of the Kray Administration, deputy chief physician. Resides in city of Vladivostok

Ussuriyskiy Electoral District No. 51

Gusman, Yuliy Solomonovich. Born 8 August 1943. State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly, deputy chairman of the Committee on Questions of Geopolitics. Resides in city of Moscow.

Georgiyevskiy Electoral District No. 52

Zonov, Mikhail Fedorovich. Born 2 August 1941. Peasant farm "Yevribrid," head of peasant farm. Resides in village of Stepnoy, Shpakovskiy Rayon, Stavropol Kray.

Kazminvodskiy Electoral District No. 53

Ilyukin, Ivan Tyamerzukovich. Born 25 April 1952. Stavropol Kray section of the "Russia's Democratic Choice" Party, ispolkom chairman. Resides in city of Stavropol.

Petrovskiy Electoral District No. 54

Sereda, Nikolay Andreyevich. Born 21 May 1955. Association of Peasant-Individual Farms, executive director. Resides in village of Donskoy, Trunovskiy Rayon, Stavropol Kray.

Stavropolskiy Electoral District No. 55

Naumov, Oleg Georgiyevich. Born 17 December 1953. Center for Humanitarian Studies, council chairman. Resides in city of Stavropol.

Blagoveshchenskiy Electoral District No. 58

Malyshev, Boris Sergeyevich. Born 1 May 1936. Amur State University, head of chair of economics. Resides in city of Blagoveshchensk.

Arkhangelskiy Electoral District No. 59

Danilov, Mikhail Aleksandrovich. Born 14 July 1937. State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly, member of the Committee on Natural Resources and Natural Resource Application. Resides in city of Arkhangelsk.

Kotlasskiy Electoral District No. 60

Gorbunov, Sergey Viktorovich. Born 23 February 1961. Editorial staff of newspaper ONEGA, head of department of radio information. Resides in city of Onega, Arkhangelsk Oblast.

Astrakhanskiy Electoral District No. 61

Osukhova, Nataliya Georgiyevna. Born 26 November 1947. Astrakhan State Pedagogical Institute, docent, chair of psychology. Resides in city of Astrakhan.

Pochepskiy Electoral District No. 65

Komogortseva, Lyudmila Kimovna. Born 1 December 1949. Bryansk Agricultural Academy, docent. Resides in village of Kokino, Bryansk Oblast.

Volzhskiy Electoral District No. 68

Smirnov, Aleksandr Vladimirovich. Born 12 December 1960. "Oktyabr" house of culture, sector chief, department of organization of recreation. Resides in city of Volzhskoy, Volgograd Oblast.

Krasnoarmeyskiy Electoral District No. 69

Bogomolov, Ruslan Leonidovich. Born 21 January 1952. "Remstroymash" plant, chief of marketing service. Resides in city of Volgograd.

Mikhaylovskiy Electoral District No. 70

Semenyuk, Valentina Ivanovna. Born 22 September 1951. Peasant farm, head of farm. Resides in village of Razdelnyy, Nikolayevskiy Rayon, Volgograd Oblast.

Central Electoral District No. 71

Yushchenko, Anatoliy Aleksandrovich. Born 30 January 1938. State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly, member of the Committee on Questions of Local Self-Government. Resides in city of Volgograd.

Vologodskiy Electoral District No. 72

Smirnov, Vladimir Sergeyevich. Born 30 November 1946. "Military Men for Democracy" movement, chairman of coordinating council. Resides in Moscow.

Cherepovetskiy Electoral District No. 73

Shvarkov, Vladimir Borisovich. Born 25 May 1949. "Trek-Servis" firm, general director. Resides in city of Vologda.

Pravoberezhnyy Electoral District No. 77

Orlanov, Georgiy Borisovich. Born 2 August 1946. State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly, member of

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the Committee on Affairs of the Commonwealth of Independent States and Relations With Fellow Countrymen. Resides in city of Voronezh.

Ivanovskiy Electoral District No. 78

Zelenkin, Viktor Vasilyevich. Born 27 January 1947. State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly, member of the Committee on Questions of Local Self-Government. Resides in city of Ivanovo.

Kineshemskiy Electoral District No. 79

Martynov, Rudolf Leonidovich. Born 3 February 1939. AOZT "Farmako-Poiis," director. Resides in city of Ivanovo.

Bratskiy Electoral District No. 81

Anyakin, Vladimir Alekseyevich. Born 10 September 1934. Bratsk city administration, section head. Resides in city of Bratsk, Irkutsk Oblast.

Irkutskiy Electoral District No. 82

Artemyev, Boris Vladimirovich. Born 20 October 1960. Irkutsk City Duma, member of the Commission on Rehabilitation of Victims of Political Repressions. Resides in city of Irkutsk.

Kemerovskiy Electoral District No. 88

Aslanidi, Aleksandr Valentinovich. Born 13 December 1947. Limited partnership "Nasha gazeta," executive director. Resides in village of Malinovka, Osinnikovskiy Rayon, Kemerovo Oblast.

Leninsk-Kuznetskiy Electoral District No. 89

Polyakova, Antonina Aleksandrovna. Born 25 August 1937. Methodologist in alternative medicine. Resides in city of Leninsk-kuznetsk, Kemerovo Oblast.

Prokopyevskiy Electoral District No. 91

Biryukov, Valeriy Viktorovich. Born 12 December 1938. AO "Ugol," "Prokopyevskugol" company, head of stockholding and securities department. Resides in city of Prokopyevsk, Kemerovo Oblast.

Kurganskiy Electoral District No. 95

Yusov, Vladimir Naumovich. Born 27 August 1948. AO "Ivolga," deputy general director. Resides in city of Kurgan.

Kurskiy Electoral District No. 96

Pridvorov, Nikolay Antonovich. Born 9 February 1935. Tambov State University, dean of juridical faculty, head of chair of legal disciplines. Resides in city of Kursk.

Lgovskiy Electoral District No. 97

Oksenenko, Grigoriy Antonovich. Born 15 March 1936. Lgovsk Experimental-Selection Station, director. Resides in village of Selektsionnyy, Lgovskiy Rayon, Kursk Oblast.

Volkhovskiy Electoral District No. 98

Fedorishkin, Viktor Ivanovich. Born 25 June 1950. Volkhov Oblast Hospital, chief physician. Resides in city of Tosno, Leningrad Oblast.

Vsevolozhskiy Electoral District No. 99

Mokhov, Oleg Aleksandrovich. Born 9 October 1946. Council of the Leningrad Oblast regional organization of the Peasant Party of Russia, chairman. Resides in city of Vsevolozhsk, Leningrad Oblast.

Lipetskiy Electoral District No. 102

Ponomarev, Nikolay Fedorovich. Born 18 September 1945. Administration of Federal Treasury for Lipetsk Oblast, section chief. Resides in city of Lipetsk.

Magadanskiy Electoral District No. 103

Zhzhenov, Georgiy Stepanovich. Born 22 March 1915. Theatre imeni Mossovet, artist. Resides in city of Moscow.

Istrinskiy Electoral District No. 105

Gozman, Leonid Yakovlevich. Born 13 July 1950. Moscow State University imeni M. V. Lomonosov, docent, faculty of psychology. Resides in Moscow.

Kolomenskiy Electoral District No. 106

Egtert, Konstantin Petrovich. Born 22 May 1964. AO "Editorial office of newspaper IZVESTIYA," observer. Resides in Moscow.

Lyuberetskiy Electoral District No. 107

Nevzorov, Vladimir Alekseyevich. Born 26 March 1945. Russian Trade Union of Workers of Medium and Small Business, deputy chairman. Resides in village of Udelnaya, Ramenskiy Rayon, Moscow Oblast.

Mytishchinskiy Electoral District No. 108

Yushenkov, Sergey Nikolayevich. Born 27 June 1950. State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly, chairman of the Committee on Defense. Resides in Moscow.

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Noginskiy Electoral District No. 109

Gryzunov, Sergey Petrovich. Born 23 July 1949. Temporarily unemployed. Resides in Moscow.

Odintsovskiy Electoral District No. 110

Valigurskiy, Dmitriy Ivanovich. Born 16 March 1956. Commercial-individual farm "Dans," head of farm. Resides in city of Mytishchi, Moscow Oblast.

Orekhovo-Zuyevskiy Electoral District No. 111

Fatkulin, Yuriy Kamilevich. Born 20 July 1945. International society "Ekotekhnopolis," consultant. Resides in city of Troitsk, Moscow Oblast.

Podolskiy Electoral District No. 112

Shabad, Anatoliy Yefimovich. Born 8 May 1939. State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly, member of the Committee on Education, Culture and Science. Resides in Moscow.

Pushkinskiy Electoral District No. 113

Godzhayev, Zakhid Adygezal Ogly. Born 8 August 1951. Scientific Motor Tractor Institute, leading scientific associate. Resides in Moscow.

Serpukhovskiy Electoral District No. 114

Chernova, Irina Anatolyevna. Born 16 October 1946. Committee on Administration of Property, city of Serpukhov, chairman. Resides in city of Serpukhov, Moscow Oblast.

Monchegorskiy Electoral District No. 115

Manannikov, Vladimir Nikolayevich. Born 13 April 1947. State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly, member of the Committee on the Budget, Taxes, Banks and Finance. Resides in city of Kirovsk, Murmansk Oblast.

Kanavinskiy Electoral District No. 120

Zaslavskiy Ilya Iosifovich. Born 31 January 1960. State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly, member of the Committee on Economic Policy. Resides in Moscow.

Semenovskiy Electoral District No. 121

Vishnepolskiy, Vladislav Morisovich. Born 22 April 1937. "Pomoshch" society, director. Resides in city of Nizhniy Novgorod.

Sergachskiy Electoral District No. 122

Polishchuk, Oleg Vasilyevich. Born 29 March 1965. AO "Polikron," director. Resides in city of Nizhniy Novgorod.

Novgorodskiy Electoral District No. 123

Lavrentyev, Valeriy Anatolyevich. Born 10 March 1946. Union of Entrepreneurs of Novgorod Oblast, president. Resides in city of Novgorod.

Iskitimskiy Electoral District No. 127

Krasnikov, Nikolay Grigoryevich. Born 17 April 1955. Administration of village of Koltsovo, head of administration. Resides in village of Koltsovo, Novosibirskiy Rayon, Novosibirsk Oblast.

Bolsherechenskiy Electoral District No. 128

Folyak, Ivan Ivanovich. Born 4 June 1950. Omsk Oblast Association of Peasant and Individual Farms, president. Resides in city of Omsk.

Omskiy Electoral District No. 129

Koval, Andrey Viktorovich. Born 13 January 1955. Author's television-radio company, director. Resides in city of Omsk.

Central Electoral District No. 130

Minzhurenko, Aleksandr Vasilyevich. Born 24 October 1946. State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly, member of the Committee on International Affairs. Resides in city of Omsk.

Buzulukskiy Electoral District No. 131

Timoshenko, Aleksandr Prokopyevich. Born 5 August 1955. Newspaper ORENBURGSKIYE VEDOMOSTI, assistant editor. Resides in city of Orenburg.

Orenburgskiy Electoral District No. 132

Savitskiy Boris Vladimirovich. Born 29 November 1960. Orenburg section of the "Russia's Democratic Choice" Party, ispolkom chairman. Resides in city of Orenburg.

Orskiy Electoral District No. 133

Nasledov, Sergey Borisovich. Born 20 December 1952. Newspaper ORSKAYA KHRONIKA, correspondent. Resides in city of Orsk, Orenburg Oblast.

Zheleznodorozhnyy Electoral District No. 135

Didenko, Vladimir Vasilyevich. Born 15 February 1950. Penza Oblast Public Committee on Protection of Human Rights, executive director. Resides in city of Penza.

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Pervomayskiy Electoral District No. 136

Voytsekhovskiy, Konstantin Vladimirovich. Born 4 October 1956. Penza Oblast Fund for Support of Entrepreneurship, general director. Resides in city of Penza.

Sverdlovskiy Electoral District No. 140

Pokhmelkin, Viktor Valeryevich. Born 3 February 1960. State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly, deputy chairman of the Committee on Legislation and Judicial-Legal Reform, resides in city of Perm.

Pskov Electoral District No. 141

Malinin, Yevgeniy Nikolayevich. Born 26 May 1958. Limited partnership "Promvodstroy," general director. Resides in city of Pskov.

Belokalitvinskiy Electoral District No. 142

Vinogradov, Vladimir Vasilyevich. Born 18 August 1953. AO "Politekhagroservis," general director. Resides in village of Krasnogvardeyak, Stavropol Kray.

Volgodonskiy Electoral District No. 143

Motyanin, Gennadiy Nikolayevich. Born 24 January 1938. Joint-stock enterprise "Vektor," president. Resides in city of Volgodonsk, Rostov Oblast.

Kamenskiy Electoral District No. 144

Pasechnikova, Irina Aleksandrovna. Born 6 March 1962. Regional socio-political newspaper NASHE ZERKALO, editor. Resides in city of Donetsk, Rostov Oblast.

Proletarskiy Electoral District No. 145

Amelina, Alla Leonidovna. Born 13 November 1952. State Duma of the RF Fedeal Assembly, member of the Committee on Information Policy and Communications. Resides in city of Rostov-on-Don.

Taganrogskiy Electoral District No. 147

Sklyarov, Aleksey Mikhaylovich. Born 26 March 1949. Television-radio company "Puls," director. Resides in city of Azov, Rostov Oblast.

Shakhtinskiy Electoral District No. 148

Sadovnikov, Aleksey Firsovich. Born 23 December 1946. AO "Donvodstroykomplekt," general director. Resides in city of Rostov-on-Don.

Shilovskiy Electoral District No. 150

Alekseyev Anatoliy Alekseyevich. Born 1 January 1950. International Committee on Rights of Military Servicemen and Their Families, chairman. Resides in Moscow.

Novokuybyshevskiy Electoral District No. 151

Fateyev, Valeriy Petrovich. Born 2 June 1946. RF State Committee on Administration of State Property, deputy chairman. Resides in Moscow.

Promyshlennyy Electoral District No. 152

Kalakutskiy, Vadim Ivanovich. Born 21 April 1940. "Progress" plant, deputy director. Resides in city of Samara.

Samarskiy Electoral District No. 153

Feygin, Mark Zakharovich. Born 3 June 1971. State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly, member of the Committee on Questions of Local Self-Government. Resides in city of Samara.

Syzranskiy Electoral District No. 154

Beresnev, Igor Leonidovich. Born 24 July 1961. Municipal General Hospital, chief physician. Resides in city of Syzran, Samara Oblast.

Tolyattinskiy Electoral District No. 155

Morozov, Anatoliy Timofeyevich. Born 12 February 1950. Togliatti City Administration, first deputy head of administration. Resides in city of Togliatti.

Balakovskiy Electoral District No. 156

Sergeyenkov, Aleksandr Nikolayevich. Born 28 June 1955. State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly, member of the Committee on Economic Policy, resides in city of Balakovo, Saratov Oblast.

Balashovskiy Electoral District No. 157

Ilyukhin, Lev Nikolayevich. Born 23 May 1949. Oblast Center for Public Employment, director. Resides in city of Saratov.

Saratovskiy Electoral District No. 158

Zatsepilin, Aleksandr Nikolayevich. Born 29 November 1948. State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly, assistant deputy. Resides in city of Saratov.

Engelsskiyy Electoral District No. 159

Yuzhakov, Vladimir Nikolayevich. Born 23 October 1951. State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly, member of the Committee on Affairs of the Federation and Regional Policy. Resides in city of Saratov.

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Sakhalinskiy Electoral District No. 160

Barinov, Aleksandr Fedorovich. Born 20 July 1947. Individual-private enterprise "Peasant Company of Sakhalin," director. Resides in city of Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk.

Verkh-Isetskiy Electoral District No. 162

Mishustina, Larisa Pavlovna. Born 25 December 1949. State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly, member of the Committee on Affairs of the Federation and Regional Policy. Resides in city of Yekaterinburg.

Kamensk-Uralskiy Electoral District No. 163

Tagiltsev, Aleksandr Vasilyevich. Born 6 February 1948. Production association "Oktyabr," physician. Resides in city of Kamensk-Uralsk, Sverdlovsk Oblast.

Nizhne-Tagilskiy Electoral District No. 164

Lendenev, Valeriy Sergeyevich. Born 1 August 1945. Individual-private enterprise "YAVA Ltd," section chief. Resides in city of Novouralsk, Sverdlovsk Oblast.

Ordzhonikidzevskiy Electoral District No. 165

Grebenkin, Anatoliy Viktorovich. Born 5 June 1948. Urals State University, head of chair. Resides in city of Yekaterinburg.

Vyazemskiy Electoral District No. 168

Novikov, Vladimir Danilovich. Born 3 December 1934. Smolensk Pedagogical Lyceum, director. Resides in city of Smolensk.

Smolenskiy Electoral District No. 169

Litvinov, Vasiliy Vasilyevich. Born 7 February 1954. Krasninskiy Rayon administration, Smolensk Oblast, head of administration. Resides in village of Gusino, Krasninskiy Rayon, Smolensk Oblast.

Tambovskiy Electoral District No. 171

Dubovitskiy, Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich. Born 13 August 1944. AO "Aelita," chairman. Resides in city of Tambov.

Tverskoy Electoral District No. 173

Boshnyak, Yuriy Mikhaylovich. Born 16 December 1928. Tver State Association of Museums, general director. Resides in city of Tver.

Novomoskovskiy Electoral District No. 175

Strekalov, Igor Yuryevich. Born 20 July 1949. Tula Obkom [oblast committee] of the Russian Trade Union of Workers of Medium and Small Business, chairman. Resides in city of Tula.

Tulskiy Electoral District No. 176

Pashchenko, Eduard Aleksandrovich. Born 17 March 1939. State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly, member of the Committee on Property, Privatization amnd Economic Activity. Resides in city of Tula.

Shchekinskiy Electoral District No. 177

Matveyev, Nikolay Aleksandrovich. Born 2 January 1949. State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly, assistant deputy. Resies in city of Tula.

Ishimskiy Electoral District No. 178

Shvank, Galina Grigoryevna. Born 2 September 1957. Private legal firm, director. Resides in city of Pokachi, Nizhnevartovskiy Rayon, Tyumen Oblast.

Tyumenskiy Electoral District No. 179

Korshunov, Aleksandr Leonidovich. Born 8 July 1960. Tyumen section of the Russian Party of Social Democracy, chairman of the board. Resides in city of Tyumen.

Sengileyevskiy Electoral District No. 180

Povalyayev, Vladimir Pavlovich. Born 13 November 1962. Limited partnership "Vesta-2," deputy director on legal questions. Resides in city of Dimitrovgrad, Ulyanovsk Oblast.

Kalininskiy Electoral District No. 183

Golovlev, Vladimir Ivanovich. Born 11 May 1957. State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly, member of the Committee on Property, Privatization and Economic Activity. Resides in city of Chelyabinsk.

Kyshtymskiy Electoral District No. 184

Borisov, Lev Dmitriyevich. Born 3 February 1941. Chelyabinsk Oblast Television and Radio Committee, television and radio commentator. Resides in city of Chelyabinsk.

Magnitogorskiy Electoral District No. 185

Pochinok, Aleksandr Petrovich. Born 12 January 1958. State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly, member of the Committee on the Budget, Taxes, Banks and Finance. Resides in city of Moscow.

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Sovetskiy Electoral District No. 186

Vorobyev, Aleksandr Nikolayevich. Born 27 November 1955. Chelyabinsk Fund Center, general director. Resides in city of Chelyabinsk.

Rybinskiy Electoral District No. 190

Stepenko, Galina Yefremovna. Born 21 December 1949. United administration of city of Rybinsk and Rybinskiy Rayon, head of Social Provision Administration. Resides in city of Rybinsk, Yaroslav Oblast.

Avtozavodskiy Electoral District No. 191

Vorobyev, Eduard Arkadyevich. Born 25 October 1938. Retired, RF Ministry of Defense. Resides in Moscow.

Babushkinskiy Electoral District No. 192

Nisnevich, Yuliy Anatolyevich. Born 19 September 1951. State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly, member of the Committee on Information Policy and Communications. Resides in Moscow.

Kuntsevskiy Electoral District No. 193

Zadonskiy, Georgiy Ivanovich. Born 31 October 1940. State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly, member of the Committee on Property, Privatization and Economic Activity. Resides in Moscow.

Leningradskiy Electoral District No. 194

Gerber, Alla Yefremovna. Born 3 January 1932. State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly, member of the Committee on Education, Culture and Science. Resides in Moscow.

Universitetskiy Electoral District No. 201

Vorontsov, Nikolay Nikolayevich. Born 1 January 1934. State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly, deputy chairman of the Committee on Education, Culture and Science. Resides in Moscow.

Central Electoral District No. 202

Shelov-Kovedayev, Fedor Vadimovich. Born 15 July 1956. Apparatus of the State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly, advisor to the "Russia's Choice" faction. Resides in Moscow.

Chertanovskiy Electoral District No. 204

Kovalev, Sergey Adamovich. Born 2 March 1930. RF President's Commission on Human Rights, chairman. Resides in Moscow.

Sheremetyevskiy Electoral District No. 205

Murashev, Arkadiy Nikolayevich. Born 2 December 1957. State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly, member of the Committee on International Affairs. Resides in Moscow.

Admiralteyskiy Electoral District No. 206

Rybakov, Yuliy Andreyevich. Born 25 February 1946. State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly, member of the Committee on Legislative and Judicial-Legal Reform. Resides in city of St. Petersburg.

Northern Electoral District No. 209

Derevyanko, Yuriy Dzhakovich. Born 21 November 1960. Publishing house "Smena," general director. Resides in city of St. Petersburg.

Northwestern Electoral District No. 210

Tomchin, Grigoriy Alekseyevich. Born 4 December 1947. State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly, member of the Committee on Property, Privatization and Economic Activity. Resides in city of St. Petersburg.

Taymyrskiy (Dolgano-Nenetskiy) Electoral District No. 219

Medvedkova, Yelena Markovna. Born 25 March 1950. Executive committee of the Russian Party of Social Democracy, chairman. Resides in Moscow.

Nizhnevartovskiy Electoral District No. 221

Rudenko-Desnyak, Aleksandr Alekseyevich. Born 6 June 1936. Cultural Center of Ukraine in Moscow, deputy general director. Resides in Moscow.

Chukotskiy Electoral District No. 223

Riga, Igor Grigoryevich. Born 23 October 1937. Chukotskiy District Kray Studies Museum, senior scientific associate. Resides in city of Anadyr.

[Signed] Presiding chairman at conference A. N. YAKOVLEV
Secretary I. A. KHARICHEV

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Regional Activities

Lebed Warns Kaliningrad May Become 'New Gdansk Corridor'

BR1610150595 Milan CORRIERE DELLA SERA in Italian 15 Oct 95 p 6

[Report on interview with Russian General Aleksandr Lebed by Renzo Cianfanelli in Kaliningrad; date not given: "I Will Be Moscow's De Gaulle"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kaliningrad — "Charles De Gaulle? He was a French general and a patriot. I, Aleksandr Lebed, am a Russian general and a Russian patriot." This is how the general and parliamentary candidate to the Duma, who could replace Yeltsin at the Kremlin next year, presented himself in Emanuel Kant's home town, the former Keoningsberg. Today this city, which uncomfortably retains the name of the head of the Supreme Soviet during the Stalin era, is the Russian nuclear submarine base closest to Western Europe. It is from here that Lebed, 45, who became most popular as defender of the Russian ethnic minority in Moldova, backed by a solid reputation for professional competence and absolute incorruptibility, is launching his political offensive.

Lebed, whom someone compared to America's General Colin Powell, is in fact more similar, in his mentality, to Serbia's General Ratko Mladic. He is a tall, strong, self-made man, the son of a worker, with a deep voice, who makes an excellent impression in interviews partly because he gives brief answers and is not ashamed to admit that there are gaps in his knowledge — in economics, for instance. Married, with two sons and a daughter, he often travels with his wife, a young woman who follows him silently without giving herself any airs as a potential first lady, and with a big pink bow in her hair. "I have no dacha, I have not bought any homes, and I have no personal car of my own," he said. "In Moscow I live in a rented apartment for military personnel on the outskirts. I have always lived this way, because my parents never taught me that in order to get ahead you also have to steal."

According to the opinion polls, Lebed, who stood as a candidate for the Congress of Russian Communities (KRO) — a nationalist bloc supported by the Orthodox clergy — starts as the big favorite, with 38 percent of voting intentions, as against Yeltsin's meager 8 percent. But the general does not trust forecasts. The certainty is that if, as seems certain, he is elected as a deputy to the Duma 17 December, Russian politics will no longer be the same as before.

Having followed him for two days in Kaliningrad and Moscow, the picture that emerges of this new actor on the Russian political scene is very different from the cliched portrayal of him as a mere Zhirinovskiy-style nationalist, but in uniform. Lebed is not at all like Zhirinovskiy, who is now worn out and a prisoner of his own demagoguery. If Lebed is the next president or, perhaps more probably, the next defense minister, the West will have to deal with a Russian leader who knows what he wants, capable of talking to people and of mobilizing support, with all the formidable weight of a frustrated nuclear superpower behind him.

With regard to NATO, which is planning to spread as far as Poland and the Baltic republics, Lebed issued a clear warning: "There is a danger the third world war may start that way." The West's reassurances leave him cold: "What would Italy say if we were to decide to deploy a couple of Russian divisions along your borders? It would protest, and it would be right to do so. If I stand a few inches from your face and hold my fists up, if our discussion becomes difficult I will be tempted to use them. From a distance, however, the temptation is less."

With Poland and several other former satellites anxious to settle under the NATO umbrella, the general said that "the Russian nuclear base at Kaliningrad is in danger of becoming the new Gdansk corridor of the year 2000. In 1939, thanks to the joint efforts of Stalin and Hitler, the safety distance was covered, at the expense of 50 million lives. Now, if another world war were to break out, there would be many more deaths." But the West is insistent. The aim is not to create an enlarged alliance against Russia, but to involve Russia in the European security system. On what conditions would Russia be willing to accept a "friendly" partnership with NATO?

"I cannot see the logic of it," Lebed replied. "We also have that proverb in Russia that says, 'God save me from my friends.' The fact is that previously the situation was deplorable but balanced. Now, even though the Warsaw Pact no longer exists, you are brandishing your fists under our nose, but assuring us that you are doing it out of friendship! For that matter, we can see in Bosnia how these things work. If NATO is acting as an impartial force, why is it dropping bombs only on the Bosnia Serbs and not on the Muslim Croats, who are attacking?"

"You go ahead. It is your right. But, albeit rather slowly, Russia will then be forced to resume the tactic of nuclear containment, to abandon the disarmament agreements. And after half a century of Cold War, we will again find ourselves in confrontation. This process will begin with Belarus. The other states of the CIS will follow us."

Lebed's position on domestic policy and the economy remains undefined, apart from his popular platform

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of "patriotism, solidarity, and clean hands." Speaking about Defense Minister Grachev, his former friend and colleague, the general said: "He has lost his honor and his dignity. I consider him a prostitute, and I do not like prostitutes, whether in skirts or pants. I saw him with my own eyes 20 August at the time of the 1991 coup. He was undecided between Yeltsin and Yazov. Then he sided with Yeltsin, because he offered him more."

He guaranteed Yeltsin a calm retirement — "let him go pick strawberries or go fishing" — but he does not grant him much credit. "I do not consider him a hero. He did not demolish the system. It collapsed because Communism was rotten." With regard to the Armed Forces' role in politics, he admitted that "in democratic systems the military does not interfere in politics. But we have not yet reached democracy. Perhaps it will take us several decades."

Forecasts & Commentary

Lebed Discusses Plans for Military Reform in Russia

LD1610220095 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1421 GMT 16 Oct 95

[Interview with Aleksandr Lebed by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given — live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Correspondent] The provisions of the military reform proposed by Aleksandr Lebed are in many ways similar to the approach of Colonel General Yevgeniy Nikolayevich Rodionov. He spoke in the name of the public committee on military reform.

What is the new public movement Honor and Russia [as heard] going to do? This was my first question to Aleksandr Lebed.

[Lebed] [words indistinct] There are a lot of very clever officers and generals for whom a focal point must be set up to which they could bring their wonderful ideas. They will come here.

[Correspondent] How can one do this in practice? People are concerned with their own problems today.

[Lebed] Not everybody. You see that there is a full hall.

[Correspondent] Yes, people who are your supporters have come here. Are you sure that this is the case?

[Lebed] I am sure; otherwise, I would not have invited them.

[Correspondent] How will the work of the new association be set up?

[Lebed] You should not ask such things. It is my business how I set it up. You should be interested what our results will be.

[Correspondent] We are interested in them, that is why we ask.

[Lebed] Interested in what?

[Correspondent] That it should be effective.

[Lebed] Well, I will set up the movement. The tasks have been defined publicly. The rest is the business of the headquarters and the council, how it should be set up. I can only say that we are not conspirators, not rebels. [word indistinct] we have one land, one country, and we are a single people. And this single people have a single defense. We are bringing together everybody to whom this is important.

[Correspondent] You said that you want to reduce all the armed detachments and forces of Russia to a common denominator. What does that mean? The Ministry of Internal Affairs, border guard structures, the army, etc?

[Lebed] There are the armed forces of Russia which encompass all of them. That was the way it was. During peaceful times each of them functioned more or less autonomously, but if a state of war is announced the border guards stand on the border, that is their fate, and the deployed units initiate defensive action, (?mobilization to the front is set in action), the Ministry of Internal Affairs [forces] cover installations and start protecting them, the Federal Security Service catches spies. There used to be such a unified system in the framework of a military district, which would then become the front. There was one head and the principle of unified management was observed.

One must just bring back the same situation. There is no need to reinvent the wheel; it was invented long ago. Now the fist has been unclenched and props have been put up everywhere to prevent it from ever clenching again. That is what Chechnya showed, that planes fly on their own, guns fire on their own, without coordination, and nobody can come to any agreement with anybody, even theoretically because each of them has his own chief. There must be a single chief who will say: You can have any kind of relations with each other, but be kind enough to organize a system and report back. If you cannot manage to do this, then you will be sacked.

At present we have 4.1 million persons in the military service and in the Army and the Navy there are 1.85 million. I ask you, what do the 2.25 million people do?

[Correspondent] That was Aleksandr Lebed, who, being a deputy chairman of the Congress of Russian Communities, has set up and heads the new public movement Honor and Motherland.

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Political Scientist Sees No Cause for Democrat 'Defeatism'

MM1310135895 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Oct 95 pp 4-5

[Article by political scientist Aleksey Kiva: "Democracy in Russia Is Actually Guaranteed by Three Forces — Yeltsin, Chernomyrdin, Rybkin"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In my pieces in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA I have noted several times that the election campaign will be tough and ruthless. No holds barred or, to be precise, under "primitive political culture" rules. But the reality has turned out to be even more unsightly, although the election campaign has formally not yet actually begun. Fighting in the Duma, which for many of its participants has become a means of attracting voters' attention. Communist Viktor Ilyukhin's unsubstantiated accusations against certain top officials of involvement in financial machinations. The resuscitation, by the communists again, of the question of impeachment of the president.

It appears that the communists have decided to turn the election campaign into real psychological warfare. Constantly accusing the democratic authorities of things and, at the same time, attracting voters' attention. At the same time, of course, casting aspersions on the "Russia Is Our Home" [NDR] electoral bloc headed by premier Viktor Chernomyrdin, which, no matter what they say, is in fact their chief rival.

The surprising thing is that the democratic media are falling into the trap. On the one hand, they are exaggerating the CPRF's [Communist Party of the Russian Federation] potential for success at the parliamentary elections. On the other hand, they are playing down the election potential of the NDR and other democratic blocs. Come now, you journalists! Democratically oriented politicians are continually saying that parliament is bound to be colored red after the December elections. They are trying to scare themselves and others. They are disorientating public opinion. Objectively they are working for the communists.

Ruin Begins in the Head

I was most surprised by Sergey Shakhray, whom I consider to be one of the most talented young politicians in Russia. In an interview for ARGUMENTY I FAKTY he said: "The NDR will get 8 percent. It will be the fifth, sixth, or 10th faction. The political center of Russia will be weaker than ever. The Zyuganov, Lapshin, Zhirinovskiy, Rutskoy, and maybe Skokov-Lebed factions will probably adopt a common stance in the State Duma...." There followed, I am afraid to say, such amateurish arguments that I really began to wonder: Is it the resentment talking, resentment at the fact that Sergey Mikhaylovich did not fit in with the NDR, or had I overestimated his potential as a politician.

What does the statement, "the NDR was conceived of as a broad front of centrist and democratic forces," mean? Even a newcomer to politics would see that in Russia today, where there is a struggle to divide up the political space going on and where Bolshevik confrontational political culture dominates, it is basically impossible to create a "broad front." It was clear from the very beginning that the appearance of new blocs would get a hostile reception in the domestic and well as opposition camp. Particularly blocs in one way or another involved in power. Particularly headed by prominent leaders who are potential presidential candidates.

Bulgakov's Professor Preobrazhenskiy was certainly right when he said that ruin begins in the head. For example, Shakhray complains that "70 percent of those polled express a lack of confidence in all organs of authority," that "only 3 percent of the population associates itself with a particular party." What about the reasons for this and much else that Shakhray is distressed about? He appears not to see them. If only it were a case of "having to change either the authorities or the methods, forms, and content of their work." In fact, the key to our problems lies in the potential of the current phase of postsocialism, in the level of maturity of society and of its political and intellectual elite; in the maturity of our media, which have worked hard to generate an atmosphere of nihilism in society; in the incredible complexity of the problems top be resolved; in our inability to really get down to business and bring it to a logical conclusion; in the fact that we have an intrinsic disrespect for the authorities. Only then is it a matter of the authorities themselves. But we so long for the simple "them and us," which relieves us of all responsibility. Of course, "us" are good, while "them," the authorities, are bad. This goes back to our enslaved past. I am sure that if there were other people there instead of Yeltsin, Chernomyrdin, and the rest, the situation would be approximately the same. History has its own rationale, choosing those who are capable of solving the tasks it sets society at any given time.

The Roots of the Overdramatization of the Situation

If you read or listen to many of our politicians, political scientists, and television pundits — democratically minded ones, what is more — at first you will be amazed: Where did such a black view of things come from? Then you come to the conclusion that: a) many concepts have been displaced; b) often we live according to the ideas of a bygone historical phase; c) you

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find the phenomenon of autosuggestion via the media, which can give rise to what political scientists know as a "self-fulfilling prophesy"; d) another factor, of course, is our disaster-proneness as a nation, our tendency to think in terms of "black and white," "good and evil," and so on.

For instance, many Russian intellectuals have the idea that Yegor Gaydar and his supporters are capable of guaranteeing the civilized development of Russia. Otherwise there will be a catastrophe. That the future of democracy in the country hinges on the personalities of Gaydar again, Boris Fedorov, and Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, those who were once dubbed democrats. If they unite everyone will be OK, if not, it will be a disaster. That there really is such a thing as a "good," "civilized" capitalism, which only the liberal intelligentsia, headed again by Gaydar or, if the worst comes to the worst, by Fedorov or Yavlinskiy, can offer the country.

Most important — what is lacking is a historical view of things, an understanding of the levels of progress when passing through the inevitable phases on the path to maturity. Democracy and market relations, like human beings, start from the cradle.

Democrats Quarrel, While the Caravan Moves On

What a lot has been said in recent months, weeks, and days about the danger to Russian democracy of fragmentation in the democratic camp, but the process of division continues. If you take a sober view of things you have to admit that the splintering of the ranks of those who entered the public consciousness as "democrats" is more a normal phenomenon than an anomaly. I would even say it is a healthy phenomenon. Although not in all cases, of course.

Sometime the splits occur as a result of leaders' overweening ambition and short-term career aspirations. In a wide range of cases splintering of reformist forces is totally unwarranted. Together they would be able to clear the 5-percent barrier, whereas separately they would be more likely to give their supporters' votes to their political opponents. But I am not concerned with these cases at the moment. When I talk about the need to establish ultimately "who's who," I am thinking about the interests of our progress along the path of reforms. Long-term interests. The concept "democrats," having emerged as a purely theoretical concept, acquired a definite meaning. Political expediency, if you like — to counterpose to the power of the communists all those who would like it to vanish from the scene. But then each phase of the social process and even the abrupt change in political development caused a chain reaction among the democrats and led to the emergence from their midst if not of entire parties then of very specific currents. I would group them as follows: a) radicals or radical democrats; b) liberal democrats; c) social-utopians; d) anarchists; e) populists; f) westernizing dissidents, and others.

How do you reduce them to a common denominator? It is practically impossible. OK, it is true that all these currents reject fascism, nationalism, and neofascism. And that is all. But this is not enough for unification. After all, in the West practically all the main political parties reject extremism and all are devoted to democracy and a market economy.

In the course of post-socialist development different attitudes have been clearly revealed on the part of the different currents among our democrats: toward the social cost of the reforms; the concept of democracy; the role of working people in the life of society; state and national interests; the actual institution of the state; such values as statehood, patriotism, national roots; Russia's role in the modern world, and so on and so forth.

Indeed, is there much in common, for instance, between Yegor Gaydar, who espouses elitism, advocates the bourgeois way as the ideal, capitalism as the social system, and conservatism a la Margaret Thatcher, on the one hand, and those democrats who espouse social democratic values in the generally accepted sense, on the other?! Do we have a classic example of democracy in the position of Sergey Kovalev (not as a dissident, but as a parliamentarian and legislator), ostracizing the Constitutional Court decision on Chechnya? Or the statement by Anatoliy Shabad, actually as a legislator, that Russia should leave Chechnya? Is this consistent with the Constitution? Evidently these questions do not concern our defenders of human rights. Democracy is primarily respect for the Law, for constitutional order. It is about being law-abiding. Democracy is if not about people's power in the literal sense, then about serving the people, and not the "self-serving" behavior of a small group of intellectuals.

At any rate, it is time we got to grips with the term "democrats." Otherwise what you have is total nonsense. Some are actually moving the country's reforms forward on the path of democracy and market relations, but for some reason are not regarded as democrats. While the majority of those who by force of habit are called democrats are standing aloof from real action and are merely criticizing, making mischief and accusations, or urging the world community to interfere in Russia's internal affairs.

I do not know how life will arrange it because concepts do not adapt themselves to order, but it is time now to adapt our "democrats" to fit the general accepted world model. Of course, taking into account our current

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level of political, social, and spiritual development and level of party organizational development. Realistically speaking, you could draw from their midst: a) a liberal or liberal-democratic party; b) a party of left-wing radicals; c) a conservative or liberal-conservative party; d) a people's (populist) party, and others, for example, a party (movement) for the protection of civil rights and freedoms.

In other words, the concept "democrats" became obsolete yesterday, no, the day before yesterday, and it does not reflect Russia realities today.

If It Were Only a Matter of a Concept

It is extremely dangerous today for the future of democracy, for the future of the country to view the processes tasking place in the country and in the world through the eyes of the "democrats," many of them anyway, to believe their political forecasts, and to follow their advice on how we should go forward in the future. In this case I am talking about "democrats" as a self-styled phenomenon, not about the "first-wave" democrats, who have not lost their sense of realism and still bear the onerous burden of reforming the country. Like Boris Yeltsin and his colleagues.

If you seriously analyze what has happened over the years since socialism, you have to conclude that the force that entered our consciousness as "democrats" is essentially played out. You need, figuratively speaking, a second wind to move the reforms forward. You can no longer rely on the old slogans and tasks, mainly associated with the stage of destruction, with the fetishization of democracy and market relations, with the idealization of the West, in accordance with the principle: "The West will help us." It will help when it suits it, and will employ double standards in most other cases. But no way will it help if we do not help ourselves. If we do not respect ourselves and indulge in intellectual masochism. But God save us from entering into confrontation with the West!

You have to take into account the mood of the vast majority of Russians, who are literally stunned by the shock therapy, the "capitalism gone crazy," and other innovations. The current dangerous split in society cannot be healed and the people cannot be united unless unifying ideas are put forward and attractive social objectives are established. The "democrats" turned out to be incapable of doing all this. In their rush into the future they are skipping several phases of natural development, and are often merely up in the clouds.

Therefore you should not unite the "first-wave democrats," but let the process take its course so that there emerge from their midst forces capable of working for the reforms at a new and vastly more complex stage, when the principal thing is creation, not destruction, cooperation, not confrontations, and flexible maneuvering, not a frontal assault.

Is Everything So Gloomy?

If not political commitment, then sheer panic, confusion, and an inability to analyze and compare is preventing politicians from recognizing that there is real evidence that the country is advancing. The potential for growth is building — slowly and inconsistently but steadily. The political climate is changing for the better. And the fact that we have hundreds of parties, dozens of pre-election blocs, and a great deal else which the "civilized world" does not and cannot have is nothing but normal for our country at the present stage of its development. And we must not succumb to hysteria or fall victim to defeatism as a result of this unusual situation but give thought, in Solzhenitsyn's words, to how to build Russia not looking toward the West (while also not reinventing the bicycle) but conforming with our present-day realities. What would I like to point out in this context?

Extremism is slowly but surely retreating to the margins of political life; the political axis is shifting increasingly confidently toward the center. In comparison with the early 1990's it is now no longer fashionable to urge people to come out into the street, organize disturbances, or urge civil war. The overwhelming majority of today's mushrooming pre-election blocs can be categorized as centrist, including right-centrist and left-centrist. And the overwhelming majority of these are opposed to new upheavals and in favor of stability and order. Now communists and national patriots alike avoid extremist slogans and statements, as a rule. The "Union of Patriots" headed by Aleksandr Sterligov and other retired generals is maybe the only exception, but today they have neither mass support nor real strength, whereas two years ago they did — potentially.

Today the situation in the Army is also different following the Chechnya events. And those generals who enjoy real authority in the Army (B. Gromov, A. Lebed, L. Rokhlin, and others) have either joined centrist blocs in their own right or are firmly linked to the new Russia. What happened? I believe that a number of factors had an influence. The tragic events of October 1993 are fresh in the memory.

The Chechen events graphically show what politicians' calls to arms mean for ordinary people. The policy of achieving civil peace and accord adopted by the Chernomyrdin government and the presidential team is also bearing fruit. And society itself is undoubtedly becoming maturer and wiser.

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The steady trend for the political compass in the post-socialist countries of Europe to point left has also provided food for thought for those leaders and parties alike which believed that Russians' material interests could be temporarily disregarded in the name of the speediest transformation of a planned economy into a market system. The argument was that the quicker we get to the market the quicker these sacrifices will pay off. The initial accumulation of capital has never come about anywhere without sacrifices, they said.

It is now difficult to find a party or bloc which would not put social objectives first. Some are sincere about this, while others have demagogic objectives. The question is whether the voter will figure this out.

Moving to the Left Does Not Mean Becoming More Red

The general shift to the left in political life in Russia is an incontrovertible fact. The prime influences here have been the economic difficulties and also all the negative things which "untamed capitalism" brought with it. But how should we regard this? Should it be seen as a retreat and virtual restoration of the old order or as a more complex phenomenon? I do not have a ready answer. But the following logic could be applied here. Russia's tilt to the right following the start of shock therapy was so unexpected and drastic for most Russians that it plunged them, figuratively if not literally, into a state of stress. They were not able to adapt. They therefore need a breathing space, a kind of time-out. That is on the one hand. On the other — if it is true that in the wake of real socialism the country has one way or another to pass through a social democratic phase of development — this process of shifting leftward could see the development of sufficient potential for the formation of a left-center alternative with a neo-communist orientation. But we are not going to absolutize the benefits of a shift to the left. All things are good in moderation.

In the face of the profound crisis in the democratic camp Russia's reformist forces have nevertheless managed to form a whole series of new blocs, first and foremost "Russia Is Our Home" [NDR] headed by Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin and the "Ivan Rybkin Bloc" headed by the speaker of the State Duma. Let me stress once again that I found and still find it incomprehensible, illogical, and even absurd that those who consider themselves democrats and fear the restoration of the old order, the old waiting lines, the old prohibitions and antidemocratic procedures in general, now make no secret of their glee at any difficulty in the way of the formation and development of these two associations and are ready to fight to the death with those forces which in the present specific conditions are the only ones capable of taking on the task of preserving the policy of reforms. It is hard to reconcile yourself to this irrationality among the Russian intelligentsia.

I see no tragic outcome to the December elections for Russia's reformist forces. And precisely because new blocs have emerged. Which factions today are the real contenders for some degree of influence in parliament? On the one hand there are the communists, the agrarians, and V. Zhirinovskiy's supporters, albeit not in such great numbers as now. A. Rutskoy's "Derzhava" might not clear the 5-percent barrier, not to mention other national patriotic blocs. On the other hand we have the NDR and probably Rybkin's bloc, which, for all the difficulties it had getting formed, nobody has quit. Rybkin's own personality, which is not devoid of charisma, is attractive to voters. The bloc will fail only if Rybkin does not set due store by the election struggle.

But those who call themselves democrats also have other parties and blocs. These include "Russia's Democratic Choice-United Democrats," Boris Fedorov's "Forward, Russia!", and Grigoriy Yavlinskiy's "Yabloko." They can be accused of anything you like apart from opposing market reforms and democracy. In any event all these blocs will have representatives in parliament — and some of them will be extremely influential,

If they are lucky, some other blocs which are undoubtedly democratic in terms of orientation could achieve success. But there are also the centrist blocs which are not in step with either the communists or the radical nationalists. Blocs which will certainly make it into parliament. These include "Women of Russia." And also the "Congress of Russian Communities." Svayatoslav Fedorov's "Party of Working People's Self-Government" could also make it into parliament. And in my view the decisive role here will again be played by their ability to organize and conduct their election campaigns. Many centrists will also get into parliament in single-seat constituencies.

Some colleagues tell me that society must be shown the danger which General Lebed might pose. And I answer: You don't need much intelligence to nudge the general, who holds a centrist position, in the direction of the radical nationalists. But finding a common language with Lebed and, if you like, helping him to realize his democratic potential is a much more complex but nonetheless productive task.

Thus there is no reason for depression or defeatism, which can only benefit anti-democratic and revanchist forces. They demoralize supporters of democracy and mislead voters.

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Talk Must Be Followed by Conclusions

Many politicians, political scientists, and journalists (disregarding the fact that a political picture with certain distortions is a mirror image of the state of society itself) have currently started talking about the possibility that the next parliament will be "more difficult" than the current one, that our political spectrum is incredibly motley and fragmented. There is obviously a considerable degree of truth in this. But what conclusions are being drawn? None — which is my point! As before, there is talk about the benefits of a parliamentary republic. As before, you can hear complaints about parliament's lack of real power and the unjustifiably great concentration of powers in the hands of the presidency. But if things were the other way around our entire "young" and in many respects still naive democracy would have long ago gone up in smoke. Together with our equally immature market relations. And we writers and talkers would have long since shut up, to put it crudely — or rather we would have been made to shut up. And we would have a new "boss." Dictatorship most often grows out of anarchy.

How do we usually predict the political process? Putting political intuition to one side, first, prime consideration is given to trends (growing, declining, etc.) in the development of the situation. But they can unexpectedly change direction, as in fact happens. Second, use is often made of historical analogies, which are always flawed in some respect. Third, people proceed from some kind of basic natural laws of social development, which, however, are practically never repeated in full. Then there is also "Lord Chance." It is quite possible that he too is the source of some kind of natural law which is as yet beyond our comprehension.

For example, if something like Budennovsk was to happen on the eve of the elections the "party of order" would be riding high. The "party of power," by contrast, would look insipid, if not invisible to the naked eye. If there was another "Black Tuesday" or "Black Thursday" the communists and their allies would most likely reap "quick electoral dividends." The democratic authorities should not only know and foresee all this but also prevent it happening.

But it is also necessary to take account of the excessive emotionalness of our voter, who, in defiance of all polls and predictions, could decide at the very last moment who he is going to vote for. Our press, too, is just as emotional.

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ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 17 Oct

LD1710064095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0630 GMT 17 Oct 95

["Press Review" — ITAR-TASS headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, October 17 (ITAR-TASS) — Today's newspapers front-page materials on hijacking a bus with South Korean tourists by a terrorist near the Moscow Kremlin last Saturday. The army newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA writes the following on this question: "The terrorist was killed. South Korean citizens did not receive even a scratch during the operation.

"The Alfa group that stormed the bus, did not suffer losses either. It is worthwhile noting that this is evidently the first case in the latest history of struggle against Russian terrorism when a special task force acted so smoothly." The daily remarks at the same time that the Alfa group faced a dilettante.

The ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI newspaper writes that television which depicted the hostage-releasing operation, showed during the two troublesome days that Moscow mayor Yuriy Luzhkov was constantly in the group of the operation's masterminds.

The trade union newspaper TRUD holds that the Alfa group acted "efficiently and resolutely" near the Kremlin walls.

The IZVESTIYA newspaper prints a set of reports by its correspondents who turned to be in the midst of events on the Maly Kamenny Bridge where the hijacked bus with tourists stood.

One of the daily's reporters visited the Vnukovo airport where the terrorist's brother was allegedly ready to detonate a bomb in the former's demands were not met. Police started an operation to oust passengers from the airport building on October 14 at 19:00.

The reporter notes that airport officials did not even explain customers why they were pushed out of the airport building.

IZVESTIYA front-pages an article on Chechnya. Its reporters approached virtually all government officials who could say who bombed the Chechen village of Roshni-Chu on October 8 and the villages of Dargo and Belgatoy on October 14, as Dudayev's side claimed and what was witnessed even by representatives from the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

It turned out that neither the Russian air defence system, nor the Federal Security Service, nor still the Interior Ministry have any information on these incidents. All keep mum about these facts.

The newspaper writes that "it is possible to draw only one conclusion from the above: officials of the Russian army and other power-wielding structures again prefer to fool us and deceive us, as they did one year ago when 'unidentified' planes bombed Groznyy as well as other cities and villages in Chechnya.

"The big lie, as is known, ended in big bloodshed. No lessons were learned from that affair. Nevertheless, they continue to tell lies to us."

Commenting on the presidential elections in the Kalmyk Republic, a constituent part of the Russian Federation, IZVESTIYA political analyst Albert Plutnik writes: "Relations between the Kalmyk president and democratic institutes as well as democracy itself resembles very much a downright mockery over democratic norms which rooted themselves in the civilised world long ago".

TRUD carries a set of materials on the situation with fuel and power supplies in the country on the threshold of winter, noting that the situation "is not simple and does not instill optimism".

Many newspaper runs articles devoted to the memory of MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS reporter Dmitriy Kholodov who tragically died one year ago.

The NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA newspaper stresses: despite numerous statements by their representatives, Russian law enforcement bodies could not find murderers of the young journalist up to this time.

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Soskovets: 'Intensive Assistance' for Yugoslavia

LD1710095295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0932 GMT 17 Oct 95

[By Oleg Velichko and Andrey Golubev]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] CARTAGENA, October 17 (ITAR-TASS) — Russia is set to provide intensive assistance to Yugoslavia, above all with liquid fuel supplies as winter approaches, First Vice-Premier Oleg Soskovets, who arrived to Colombia on Monday to take part in the conference of the heads of state and government of the non-aligned countries, declared here today.

The Vice-Premier stressed in his conversation with Colombia's Foreign Minister Rodrigo Pardo that despite the U.N. ban, Bosnian Moslems continue to get arms. "The process of the conflict settlement is being dragged out for this reason," he said.

The Colombian Minister said the crisis in Bosnia would figure prominently at the forum of non-aligned countries. The non-aligned movement is seeking a prompt end to that conflict, he stressed.

During a conversation with representatives of the local business community, Soskovets expressed the hope that a new Russian-Colombian trade agreement would be signed during his visit. He said that priority in bilateral relations would be given to the energy sector, communications and military-technical cooperation.

Soskovets said he would convey a message from Russian President Boris Yeltsin to the President of Colombia. The message expresses Russia's readiness to step up Russian-Colombian trade and economic exchanges, Soskovets said.

Participants in the meeting noted that a practical decision had already been reached on Russian 80-million-dollar supplies of equipment for the local hydropower station.

Bildt on Importance of CGB Meeting in Moscow

LD1610193795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1924 GMT 16 Oct 95

[By Dmitriy Gorokhov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, October 16 (ITAR-TASS) — Carl Bildt, international mediator and former Swedish Prime Minister, who represents the European Union in the Contact Group on Bosnia (CGB), regards the CGB meeting in Moscow as being utterly important.

This is the last opportunity to coordinate international efforts prior to the commencement of talks between the sides involved in the Bosnia conflict in Washington on October 31, he said.

"We are to exchange views on all matters, including a future peace agreement and a composition of the international peace implementation force," Bildt said on Monday after a meeting with Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev.

Bildt described Russia's contribution to the Bosnia ceasefire accord is being "the key one beyond any doubt." The cessation of hostilities became possible in the light of the decision of Russian President Boris Yeltsin to resume the supply of gas to Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Swedish politician emphasised. He expressed hope that Moscow will not slacken its efforts and will also play as considerable a role in achieving a comprehensive peace agreement and in ensuring its realisation.

Although the Moscow CGB meeting formally begins on Tuesday, CGB members, who arrived in the Russian capital on Monday, are already having working meetings on a bilateral and multilateral basis, Bildt said. The Swedish mediator said he had a detailed conversation with Kozyrev on an agenda of the CGB meeting.

Kozyrev Opposes NATO's Sole Operational Command

LD1610200895 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1906 GMT 16 Oct 95

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Dmitriy Gorokhov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 16 Oct (ITAR-TASS) — Russia is against a peace operation in former Yugoslavia being carried out solely under NATO command and it is up to military experts to draw up the principles of the management of the international forces, [Russian Foreign Minister] Andrey Kozyrev said today. He believes that it is possible, for example, to "carry out the command of the international contingent jointly and by taking turns."

"We have managed to agree with the United States that our military should join efforts in developing the mechanism for the operation," Kozyrev said after meeting international envoy Carl Bildt, the former prime minister of Sweden, who represents the European Union at the Moscow meeting of the Contact Group. Kozyrev described as very important the recent talks between [Russian Defense Minister] Pavel Grachev and U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry in Geneva.

Looking for an optimum command structure, the head of Russian diplomacy believes, one could examine precedents in the activity of international coalitions. "The

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main thing is to find a mechanism that would guarantee equal participation of the sides," he stressed. The Russian minister said that he had earlier exchanged views on the future international operation with colleagues in France and Sweden.

Bildt stressed that not only Russia but other non-NATO countries, too, are concerned about the command of the international contingent. A clear system of command of these forces must be provided, he noted.

Urges Yugoslav Peace Process in 'Stages'

LD1610193395 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1826 GMT 16 Oct 95

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Dmitriy Gorokhov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 16 Oct (ITAR-TASS) — Russia is in favor of conducting the peace conference on former Yugoslavia in several stages, Andrey Kozyrev said today in answer to a question from the ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent. Giving reasons for this proposal, he noted that a comprehensive settlement means settling a variety of issues, including political, economic, and humanitarian ones. In order to discuss them a series of forums would be required, so it would be expedient to organize the work of the conference that way.

Russia, which played an important role in allowing the sides to reach accords on a cease-fire, "will not be left out" in discussing their implementation and after that the economic rehabilitation of former Yugoslavia, the minister said after meeting with international mediator Carl Bildt.

The head of the Russian diplomatic corps called his talk with Boris Yeltsin today "the usual weekly meeting with the president." Kozyrev reported that, in particular, the state of preparations for the visits of the head of state to Paris and the UN headquarters in New York, which are to take place this week, were discussed during the meeting.

Zotov: Bosnian Situation at 'Very Dangerous Point'

LD1610191495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1754 GMT 16 Oct 95

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Oct 16 (INTERFAX) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin's special envoy for the former Yugoslavia, Aleksandr Zotov, said on Monday [16 October] the situation in Bosnia had come to "a very dangerous point" and put most of the blame for this on Bosnia's Muslim-Croat federation, whose army is continuing an offensive against the Bosnian Serbs.

"Not only the cease-fire agreement may be ruined but the sides may back down from their readiness to take part in the process of peace settlement," Zotov told INTERFAX.

He dismissed accusations against the Bosnian Serbs as "quite far-fetched.

"The Bosnian Serbs are clearly in the position of an attacked party... Evidence of this is the seizure of new territories by Muslim-Croat troops and the mass exodus of Serb refugees," he said.

"If one of the parties is driven to despair it will be very difficult keep the peace process under sufficient control," he added.

He recalled recent statements by the Bosnian Serbs, who threatened to back out of "the efforts to achieve a settlement in Bosnia on the basis of the present peace plan if the offensive on Banja Luka continues under the guise of the cease-fire agreement."

"Despite their assurances, some of the member countries of the International Contact Group for Bosnia could be expected to put more energetic pressure on the Muslim-Croat side to make it stop its offensive operations," Zotov said.

"Moscow takes an extremely negative attitude to the attempts of the Bosnian leadership to achieve for itself a favorable starting position at future peace negotiations," he went on. "Such attempts, which are as a rule most intensive during the stage of transition to a peace settlement, are unfortunately a usual feature of conflicts which have entered the phase of armed struggle."

"Russia, which played quite a significant role in achieving the truce by very quickly restoring the delivery of natural gas to Sarajevo, is more in a position than the other countries to expect the conflicting Bosnian sides to observe the agreements," Zotov said.

"But apparently the degree to which the situation in Bosnia is under control is not sufficient to ensure hundred-percent observance of the cease-fire agreement," he said.

The envoy said Russia expected that the heads of the political departments of the foreign ministries of the Contact Group member states who are meeting in Moscow on Tuesday would continue preparations for an international peace conference on the former Yugoslavia.

"We also expect that the meeting will make an attempt to work out a procedure for coordinating actions by the

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international community, including the Contact Group members (Russia, the United States, France, Britain and Germany) to structure the settlement process itself," Zotov said.

"At the present stage it is necessary to achieve the complete cessation of hostilities in Bosnia and persuade the sides to start a negotiation process," he said.

He said the Contact Group should take care that the process, which would "take some time" is "efficiently organized." "There are many suggestions about this. It would seem that all of us have the same aim of entering into a negotiation process, which we tentatively call an international peace conference. But in what succession the further joint actions will be made is what we must decide in Moscow."

Zotov said Russia expected that "as early as this year it may prove possible to go over from working out a peace model to its implementation." "The Contact Group members and the international community as a whole are quite determined to achieve this," he added.

"Apart from that, the parties involved in the Bosnian conflict to a considerable extent realize that further self-destruction is an unprofitable enterprise," he said.

"But any peace efforts involve a risk of being frustrated," he said. "And the whole experience of settlement of the Yugoslav crisis is a series of attempts and failures."

Going over the issue of a future peacekeeping force to enforce peace accords, Zotov made clear the matter would not be raised at the Moscow meeting.

The meeting should not be expected to deal with "all the problems," he said.

"The future peacekeeping operation in Bosnia is mainly a subject for negotiations between the Russian Federation and NATO, and even in a sense between the Russian Federation and the United States as the leading state in the North Atlantic alliance," he said.

Russia's principle is "that the force should be multinational and naturally not led by NATO."

"NATO, and mainly the Americans, cannot imagine that control of such a force can lie outside the context of the rules they go by," Zotov said. "Therefore what is needed under such circumstances is a fairly difficult agreement about how to coordinate efforts to create such a force and at the same time not to create a situation that is unacceptable to the Russian Federation."

Also, such an operation must be mandated by the United Nations, he said.

"All this gives rise to the problem of coordination among command structures and in general of the model for the use of a multinational force," he said.

He said senior Russian military officers and the NATO leadership were currently negotiating in Brussels to find mutually acceptable solutions that would involve NATO, Russia and possibly other non-NATO states.

Bosnians Seen Using Gas Delays To Seize Territory

MK1710063595 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 12 Oct 95 p 4

[Report by Sergey Zhikharev: "'Gazprom' Nearly Upset the Big Diplomatic Game"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Joe Sills [names as transliterated], a representative of the UN Secretary General, yesterday confirmed a report that Russian gas was delivered to the main pipeline in Sarajevo. However, contrary to expectations, a cease-fire did not come to Bosnia along with the gas. Yet again, on the insistence of the Muslim side, the cease-fire has been postponed for another day. Taking advantage and stalling for time under the pretext of addressing technical problems involved in the transmission of Russian gas and electricity to Sarajevo, the forces of the Muslim-Croat coalition with lighting speed launched an offensive and "seized" new tracts of Serb territory, ensuring full control over the Yaitse-Bihac road. This in effect means that the whole south-western part of Bosnia has passed under the control of Croatian-Muslim forces.

The cease-fire was already postponed twice — both times on the insistence of the Muslim side. According to Muhamed Sacirbey, foreign minister of Bosnia's Muslim Government, the Muslims will be ready to observe the agreement only as of Friday [13 October]. It was originally agreed that the armies of the Serb Republic and of the Muslim-Croat coalition would cease fire on the night of 9 to 10 October; then this deadline was shifted back another day. First the Muslims attributed this to the fact that no electricity or gas supplies from Russia had been resumed to the Muslim enclave in Sarajevo. In other words, the terms of the 5 October cease-fire were not fully implemented; Article 2 provided a convenient opportunity for the Muslims: "The cease-fire will take effect as of 0110 on 10 October 1995 on condition that gas and electricity supplies are fully ensured; otherwise, the cease-fire will begin at 0100 on the following day." Arguing that gas was not delivered to all residential buildings, the Muslims moved the cease-fire by a day. When this cause was removed, the Muslims stated that they are not content with the volume of supply.

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Andrey Kozyrev's warning that "no one must be allowed to disrupt this historic opportunity" turned out to be quite beneficial for the Muslim-Croat group militarily. Russia failed to silence the Bosnian guns overnight (which, of course, does not at all diminish the significance of these deliveries for the resolution of the conflict as a whole). It cannot be ruled out that in the future other "gas" problems could also arise, affecting Russia's role in the Balkan settlement process. The linkage between gas deliveries and the cease-fire eventually benefited only one of the signatories: Alija Izetbegovic. He knew that Moscow had not undertaken to ensure gas supplies to Sarajevo on 10 October. It is quite possible that the thwarting of the agreement, ostensibly through the fault of 'Gazprom,' could become a trump in the deck of cards of NATO, which is already trying to narrow the possibilities for Russian participation in the Balkan peace process.

Creation of UN Armed Forces Seen Now As 'Vital'

MM1710101295 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Oct 95 p 3

[Article by Mikhail Pogorelyy: "Does the United Nations Have the Power To Keep Peace?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the last five years peacekeeping has become one of the main functions of the United Nations. Actually, this task was enshrined at the very basis of the organization by its founders: The first clause of Article 1 of the first chapter of the UN Charter proclaims the goal of "maintaining international peace and security," for which purpose its members are obliged to take the necessary measures to avert and eliminate threats to peace and to suppress acts of aggression. If peaceful means — economic sanctions, disrupting transport and information links, and breaking off diplomatic relations — prove ineffective, the Security Council has the right to resort to military force.

However, theory is all very well, but in practice the mechanism established in the UN founding documents has never been fully effective. And not because an incorrect or unsuccessful program was elaborated half a century ago. It is simply that life, as usual, has turned out to be more complex than the ideal scenario. It was known all along that the military staff committee, whose formation and tasks were determined by the provisions of Articles 45-47 of the UN Charter, could not really work, because representatives of the armies of states which viewed one another as the major source of military threat were supposed to work on it. What kind of mutual understanding, let alone collaboration, could there have been! The idea that each UN member should assign national army contingents to the organization's control and subordinate them to the military staff committee also proved unrealizable subsequently. It was expected to be unnecessary to seek and specially train army, aviation, and naval units for urgent military measures — they would always be at the ready. And at the first signal from the Security Council they would be transported by national air forces to the conflict zone. The idea in itself presents no reason for doubt to this day. But... Security Council decisions to resort to the ultimate measure of using military force to remove a threat to peace always run up against the same problem — a shortage of troops. Even in our country, with its sizable Armed Forces, the only thing that has not proved a problem has been putting observers at the United Nations' disposal; otherwise separate subunits have had to be formed from scratch, as on the occasions where peacekeepers have been sent to Bosnia-Herzegovina. And it was only recently that the country's leadership made the long-overdue decision — a decision which at the same time anticipated similar steps from the other great powers! — to train a whole combined formation for participation in peacekeeping actions. This honor fell to the Volga Military District's 27th Motorized Infantry Division.

Let us consider: Does the United Nations really need its own armed forces, or at least, the sort of means which can be immediately delivered following a "call to arms" from the Security Council? It would appear that the need for such means is indeed so great that it has a decisive impact on both the esteem in which the United Nations itself is held and on the prospects for its activity. After all, the United Nations' effective impotence and toothlessness, the organization's inability to make "violators of convention" reckon with the will of the world community, is reminiscent of the classic vignette in which Vaska the cat continues to gobble down stolen chicken even while being admonished about the impropriety of his behavior. And it is this fact, incidentally, which is pushing the states of Central and East Europe under the wing of another organization — one which has teeth and which, if necessary, shows them to effect. We are talking about NATO. In the final analysis, the United Nations itself, by appealing to the North Atlantic alliance to implement UN resolutions (as in the case of the former Yugoslavia) or by entrusting its mandate for strong-arm action to "multinational forces," which are on every occasion set up according to new principles (as in the Iraq-Kuwait conflict, in Somalia, and in Haiti), has clearly shown just who is the force to be reckoned with.

Nevertheless. Whereas in 1988, five peacekeeping operations involving contingents totaling 10,000 men were being implemented under the aegis of the community of nations, this year there are 17 operations involving

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70,000 servicemen. This is an impressive statistic. Especially in view of the fact that, according to the rules established in 1965, any UN mission can be launched only on the condition that the sides concerned voluntarily agree to "blue helmet" activity. That means that the United Nations' standing and potential as a peacekeeping agency are palpably growing.

The only real obstacle here is not so much even the political or purely military aspects of peacekeeping as strictly financial considerations. Peace does not come cheap. According to UN Secretariat statistics, in the five years since the end of the Cold War, expenditure on this activity has grown fifteenfold, reaching 4 billion U.S. dollars per year. Seventy percent of this expenditure is borne by the permanent members of the Security Council, 10 percent by the sides interested in the implementation of the peacekeeping operation, and the rest by other countries. In the past three-and-a-half decades the United States has contributed first one-half, and later one-third of the "money for peace," but the current Congress has resolved to limit the U.S. share to just one-fourth of the corresponding article of the UN budget. This is forcing the Security Council to seriously ponder every step before sending "blue helmets" into the latest conflict zone. Especially since many states are running up huge, chronic debts under this very peace expenditure article (at the beginning of 1995 Russia owed $507 million, the United States — $221 million, Ukraine — $137 million, France — $83 million, and Japan — $50 million).

But, after all, these funds go not only toward the organization of operations and to pay for the transfer of troops but also for the monetary support of servicemen brought in to participate in keeping peace and stability. They frequently have to perform their duty to their country and the entire world community in civil war conditions and in the face of terrorist hostility and the hatred of extremist elements. In the past three decades around 1,000 servicemen have died while performing peacekeeping duties.

The events on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, in particular in the two former federative but now independent republics of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, have been a particularly severe trial for the United Nations and its original peacekeeping aims. Describing the achievements and failures in the United Nations' work in its jubilee statement, the Security Council acknowledged that "in certain cases they (peacekeeping operations — M.P.) have not been attended by success, although on the whole these operations have been carried out successfully." Of course, the Yugoslav page in UN activity is far from the best in the organization's history. By opting for force and by farming out to NATO the implementation of sanctions against one of the several conflicting sides and by effectively giving up the search for peaceful solutions, the United Nations has placed its effectiveness as a whole in serious doubt. It must be acknowledged that Russia, a permanent member of the Security Council, has by its inactivity and irresolution contributed considerably to reducing the UN role and increasing by contrast that of NATO, a regional military alliance pursing quite different prescribed tasks.

The idea, proposed in particular by the Russian leadership, of reviving the possibilities for the creation of so-called UN Armed Forces stipulated by the UN Charter through assigning formations from national armies specially trained for peacekeeping operations therefore looks not only acceptable but actually vital. Having its own instrument for implementing the Security Council's political decisions would enable the United Nations to avoid being dependent on military and military-political blocs and alliances. And this in turn would become a powerful and effective factor in the final transformation of the UN Organization from a consultative and advisory forum into an organ which elaborates real, worldwide — and peaceful — policy.

Soskovets Ends Visit to Cuba, Flies to Colombia

LD1610191995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1914 GMT 16 Oct 95

[By Konstantin Zhukovskiy]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] HAVANA, October 16 (ITAR-TASS) — A Russian governmental delegation led by First Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets flew from Havana to Cartagena (Colombia) on Monday [16 October].

Soskovets ended his official visit to Cuba. The two sides signed a number of documents, including a protocol on trade turnover and payments for 1996-1998, which envisages deliveries of Cuban sugar in exchange for Russian petroleum. Cuba and Russia also signed documents on cooperation in the fields of transportation, power engineering, oil-refining industry and agriculture.

In Colombia, Soskovets, as the Russian president's special envoy, will take part in the 11th conference of heads of state and governments of the Non-Aligned Movement scheduled to be opened in Cartagena on October 18. Russia is invited at the forum for the first time.

Soskovets will inform the conference's participants about Moscow's attitude towards international issues and the strengthening of cooperation between Russia and the developing countries.

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During his stay, the vice-prime minister will meet Colombian President Ernesto Samper and ministers, including the foreign minister, the minister of power engineering and the minister of foreign trade.

After the talks, the two sides are expected to sign a bilateral trade agreement.

Work To Resume on Cuban Nuclear Powerplant

LD1610123595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1117 GMT 16 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] HAVANA, CUBA, Oct 16 (INTERFAX) — Russia and Cuba are planning to resume the construction of the Huragua nuclear power plant, Deputy Russian Nuclear Minister Yevgeniy Reshetnikov told INTERFAX Monday.

Construction was frozen in 1992 due to Russian and Cuban difficulties in financing the project.

In the words of Reshetnikov, an international consortium will be set up in the next few months to finalize the construction work. The project's feasibility study has been done by the Italian Ansaldo company.

First Russian Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets signed an agreement in Havana Sunday to issue a $30 million credit to Cuba. The credit will be used to maintain the plant until construction is resumed.

According to Reshetnikov, the schedule of finalized construction provides for putting the first power unit of the plant into commission. This will require $750 million. The first power unit has been finalized by 65%.

In his words, the plant will be ready in three or four years to be operated both by the Cuban and Russian sides. Cuba will use the proceeds from electricity supplies to its consumers, to pay part of its debt to Russia. This debt is estimated at $20 billion, said Reshetnikov.

The power plant will annually produce 400 megawatts of electricity to satisfy 15% of Cuba's electricity needs. It will also enable Cuba to save about 700,000 tons of oil every year.

In the opinion of Russian experts, the plant will have a high safety factor. It can withstand an earthquake measuring up to 8 points (Richer scale) and a tsunami with waves up to 10 meters high.

The plant will house a light water nuclear reactor of the VVER-440 type.

Zhirinovskiy: Saddam in 'Splendid Mood' at Meeting

LD1610180695 Moscow NTV in Russian 1600 GMT 16 Oct 95

[From the "Segodnya" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The results of the referendum in Iraq were officially announced today. Of the total number of those who voted, 99.9 percent voted to extend the powers of the country's president, Saddam Husayn, for another seven years. [passage omitted]

The Iraqi leader himself did not seem to be particularly concerned about the results of the voting, given that on the day before the votes were counted he received Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, chatted to him for more than four hours, and, according to the Liberal Democrat, was in excellent humor and a splendid mood. [video shows Iraqi elections, Saddam meeting Zhirinovskiy]

Spanish Envoy Concerned Over OSCE's Safety in Groznyy

LD1610212295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2053 GMT 16 Oct 95

[By Olga Semyonova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, October 16 (ITAR-TASS) — Eugenio Bregolat y Obiols, the Ambassador of Spain to Russia, expressed the concern of Spain, which presides over the steering bodies of the European Union, about the safety of the OSCE mission in Groznyy, a spokesman for the press service of the ministry told ITAR-TASS.

The Spanish ambassador met today Russian Minister of Justice Valentin Kovalev.

The Spanish ambassador drew Kovalev's attention to the fact that the working conditions of the OSCE mission and the safety of the mission personnel can play a not least important role in a decision on the admission of the Russian Federation to the Council of Europe.

It must be noted that a statement in support of Russia's CE membership was adopted at the EU Council meeting, which was held in Luxembourg on October 2 under the chairmanship of the Spanish foreign minister.

Considering terrorist acts and incidents that have taken place in Chechnya since, ITAR-TASS asked Spanish diplomats whether the Spanish ambassador's meeting with the justice minister was prompted by any changes in that country's position on the matter. "What we wanted to do was only to get explanations and convey

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our concern," an embassy staff member, who refused to give his name, answered diplomatically.

Premier Seeks Outside Help To Free Pilots

MK1710100895 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 17 Oct 95 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Russia Is Ready To Appeal to Countries That Can Assist in Having a Russian Airplane Released"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to a high-ranking official from the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry, the ministry has prepared a draft appeal on behalf of Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin to countries that can help release the crew of the Russian Il-76 airplane that has been held in Kandahar by the Afghan opposition movement Taleban for over two months. In his words, the draft appeal has already been sent to the staff of the Russian Federation Government's leader. The diplomat specified that "the Russian premier's appeal can be addressed, in particular, to Pakistan and Saudi Arabia."

Moscow, Beijing Complete Legal Agreement on Border

LD1710085695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0831 GMT 17 Oct 95

[By Pavel Spirin and Vyacheslav Tomilin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] BEIJING, October 17 (ITAR-TASS) — Moscow and Beijing have finally fixed their frontiers, starting from this Tuesday. The sides exchanged instruments of ratification at the Chinese Foreign Ministry, saying that the agreement on the last, western section of the border 54 kilometers long, which was signed during the Moscow visit by Chinese Chairman Jiang Zemin last autumn, has come into force.

The sides have completed legal delimitation of the state border 4,380 kilometers long, apart from three islands —Tarabarov and Bolshoy Medvezhiy on the Amur river near the Russian city of Khabarovsk as well as Bolshoy on the Argun river, a settlement on which "was left to future generations".

Russian Ambassador to China Igor Rogachev told Russian reporters that today's event draws up the line under a long period of the border settlement.

On the Chinese side, the exchange ceremony was attended by Deputy Foreign Minister Zhang Deguang.

ITAR-TASS learnt from reliable sources that Russian President Boris Yeltsin also plans to sign a document (unprecedented in Asian history) on confidence-building measures along the entire former Soviet-Russian border during a coming Chinese visit to be held early in November.

Soskovets: Moscow Values India as Strategic Partner

LD1710104195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1007 GMT 17 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] CARTAGENA, October 17 (ITAR-TASS) — Russia regards India as its strategic partner, First Vice-Premier Oleg Soskovets told Indian Foreign Minister Pranab Mukherjee here today.

The Russian Vice-Premier is in Colombia on instruction from President Boris Yeltsin to take part in the conference of the heads of state and government of the non-aligned countries.

Soskovets stressed that Russian-Indian cooperation had a good future, since "Russia intends to continue bilateral relations in the military-technical field, primarily through assisting India in modernisation of combat airplanes and other specialised equipment earlier supplied by Russia."

The Indian Minister said his country would take part in the modernisation of the Russian port in Novorossisk. In addition, India is set to earmark 30 million dollars for medical and pharmacological purposes within the framework of assistance in the clean-up operations following the Chernobyl nuclear power plant blast.

"Our cooperation is developing on a stable and predictable basis," the Minister stressed.

Indian Minister Optimistic on Trade With Russia

LD1710084995 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0230 GMT 17 Oct 95

[ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Kuzmin]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Delhi, 17 Oct (ITAR-TASS) — The volume of trade turnover between India and Russia will reach $1.8 billion this year. P. Chidambaram, Indian minister of state with independent charge for commerce, said this in an interview with journalists on the priority areas of the Indian foreign economic policy today.

He said that substantial invigoration of bilateral trade and economic ties has been serving as a basis for such optimistic forecasts and its foundation was laid down during Russian President Boris Yeltsin's visit to India in January 1993. "We should stress that there were no discrepancies in views over the agreement which was signed during the visit on the payment of debts by India to Russia as the successor of the former USSR," he said. It was decided that India would be paying these

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debts by supplying different kinds of goods to citizens of Russia on an annual basis. "We are planning to fulfill our commitments and we are not going to reconsider them," he stressed. [passage omitted]

Russia, S. Korea To Expand Technology Cooperation

LD1610121195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1100 GMT 16 Oct 95

[By Nikolay Geronin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] SEOUL, October 16 (ITAR-TASS) — The Russian and South Korean ministers for science and technology, Boris Saltykov and Chong Kun-mo, today led delegations from their respective countries to talks on expanding and deepening relations between Russia and South Korea in the field of research and development of high technology.

The two countries are now looking into the possibility of cooperation in the sphere of dual-purpose technologies, new materials, biotechnology and controlled thermonuclear reaction.

Russia and South Korea now maintain three joint research centres and are jointly working on 79 research projects, and they are planning to start five new joint projects and institute two more research centres this year.

They have amassed considerable positive experience of interaction over the past five years, which, the delegations said, have contributed to the development of scientific and technical potential of the two countries, as well as intensifying ties in other fields, including investments and trade.

Along with this, the delegations called for aborting a few, earlier approved projects which had stalled for one reason or another and replacing them with new projects in the field of ship building and marine technology, as proposed by the South Korean side.

The delegations also exchanged views on a common approach to the protection of intellectual property.

Further steps will be considered when the joint commission for scientific and technical cooperation meets in Moscow next year.

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Political Issues

Yeltsin Names Justice Counsellor Skuratov as Prosecutor

LD1610141995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1328 GMT 16 Oct 95

[By Sergey Batyrev]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW October 16 (ITAR-TASS) — President Boris Yeltsin named state justice councellor Yuriy Skuratov as a new Russian Prosecutor General and recommended him for approval to the Federation Council, the upper house of the Russian parliament, the presidential press service told Tass Monday.

Skuratov was born in 1952 in the city of Ulan Ude in Transbaikalia. In 1973 he graduated from the Sverdlovsk Law institute in the Urals. He is the Doctor of Law and Professor.

He has been heading of late the Insitute of enhancing lawfulness and order at the office of the Prosecutor General and is a member of the collegium (leadership) of the office.

Skuratov is replacing Alexey Ilyushenko who was dismissed after accusations that his relatives were involved in unlawful financial actions.

The president's recommendation paper, the presidential press service reports, notes that "Skuratov's scientific background and the experience gleaned during his terms of office on various responsible posts combine to create excellent prerequisites for a well throughout approach to the enhancement of the Prosecutor-General Office's role." The president has expressed the hope the that the "mps are aware of the importance of promptly appointing a new Prosecutor-General."

The president had dismissed Acting Prosecutor-General Aleksey Ilyushenko at the latter's request early in October. His candidature to the post of Prosecutor-General was turned down several times over by the upper house of the Russian parliament. The president has appointed Ilyushenko's assistant, Oleg Gaydanov, to the post of Acting Prosecutor-General.

According to Article 129 of the Russian Constitution, the candidature of Prosecutor-General is recommended by the president and then approved by the Federation Council — the upper house of the Russian parliament.

Party Members Criticize Government's Foreign Policy

LD1610193495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1754 GMT 16 Oct 95

[By diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Korzun, Igor Porshnev, Yevgeniy Terekhov, and others — from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Oct 16 (INTERFAX) — Russia's leading political parties are critical of the results and guidelines of the government's foreign policy.

The Communists, Our Home is Russia, the Liberal Democrats, Yabloko and other political forces issued a statement to that effect at a round table discussion on Russia's foreign policy at the Carnegie center in Moscow on Monday.

Presidential Council member Andranik Migranyan, of the My Homeland movement, said that an unrealistic policy towards the West had isolated Russia from the world community. "The West is now trying to perpetuate the new line-up of forces," Migranyan said.

He warned that Russia's relations with the West were on the descent. "Russia is barred from all international security structures and it is now to reconsider its goals," Migranyan said.

He described as provocative the decision to admit Ukraine in the Council of Europe. The West intentionally favors one of the former Soviet republics, he said. In general, there has been certain retardation in Russian-Ukrainian relations, he warned.

About the outlook for Russian-Belarusian integration Migranyan said that "an early breakthrough was likely."

As he dwelt upon Russia's role in the post-Soviet space, Migranyan said that Moscow was a "safeguard of stability" and nobody else was capable of acting as a "stabilizer and economic locomotive."

Former Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin, of Our Home is Russia, said that relations with Belarus must not be linked exclusively with plans for a confederation.

He believes that Russian-Belarussian relations must be determined "by specific problems resolved in the course of integration," such as the formation of a common customs space and a payment union.

Shokhin is certain that foreign policy must serve Russia's economic interests to a far greater extent. He believes that measures must be taken to heavily support exporters, specific proposals made for re-scheduling the

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foreign debt for 25 years and no more foreign loans taken to tackle day-to-day problems. "These and other measures will help Russia take a vantage position to promote its exports," Shokhin said.

One of the leaders of the Power to the People movement, Sergey Baburin, said that NATO's plans for its enlargement eastwards were concealing aggressive designs against Russia.

He called for a confederation of former Soviet republics in which Russia would have a "special role."

Deputy chairman of the State Duma's committee for CIS affairs, Vyacheslav Igrunov (of the Yabloko faction) has said that "no real integration with CIS member-countries will take place in the near future."

He said that integration tendencies in Russia and other former Soviet republics were greatly exaggerated.

Igrunov believes that Russia will play a key role in world politics when global problems come to the forefront, such as relations between Europe and Asia. "Russia is capable of handling global problems only," he said.

Another member of the Yabloko faction, Aleksey Arbatov, said that Russian-US cooperation would in the near future shrink to military security and disarmament.

About the outlook for Russia's partnership with other countries Arbatov said that a military union with Ukraine would be unlikely because there was no military threat to Russia from the West. At the same time Arbatov believes that a military and political union with Kazakhstan would be very timely.

Relations with Far-Eastern, Asian and Pacific countries must become Russian foreign policy priorities, Arbatov said.

Aleksey Mitrofanov, who represented the Liberal Democratic Party, said that "the Russian Foreign Ministry's policy was evidence of the intention to be admitted in the European Community at any cost, even in the capacity of a stoker."

Gennadiy Seleznev, of the Communist Party, said he regarded Russia's foreign policy of the past five years as weak.

"It by no means served Russia's national interests, on the contrary, it caused serious political and economic damage to it," Seleznev said.

Staff Aide Reports Yeltsin Meeting With Republic Heads

MM1710083395 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Oct 95 p 1

[Report by Vadim Pechenev, deputy chief of a Presidential Staff administration: "Closed Meeting. But Without Kremlin Secrets" — first paragraph is ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the end of last week President Boris Yeltsin met with the heads of republics within the Russian Federation. The conversation was confidential, without representatives of the press. Vadim Pechenev, deputy chief of a Presidential Staff administration, shared his impressions of that meeting.

First of all, I wish to point out that our president has a very broad "range" of meetings with leaders of the Russian regions: official and unofficial, with and without the participation of the press. There are also meetings which are of a confidential nature or, if you like, closed to others. But this time there was another special feature as well. The president had not gathered such a "collective" forum for approximately three months, and traditional questions of the political and socioeconomic situation in the country and the republics were discussed against the background of the State Duma election campaign which is getting under way.

The president raised the Chechen question as one of the most important issues, emphasizing that it concerns the whole country and can be resolved only by peaceful means.

The meeting participants included First Vice Premier Anatoliy Chubays — from which it is not hard to deduce the agenda. There was an in-depth exchange of opinions on the use of budget funds in the current year and also on the draft federal budget for 1996.

Without going into the details of the discussion, I will point out that the question of the budget was viewed as fundamental to the process that we call the building of a strong yet certainly federative Russian State. Genuine federalism is inconceivable without real equality of rights for all components of the Federation in relations with the federal budget, but far from everything here is well.

The question of delays over paying pensions and wages to working people in the budget sphere and of the unsatisfactory maintenance of our Army and border troops was also aired sharply at the meeting. Strict instructions were given to the government to turn the situation around and to do so quickly.

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The president emphasized at the meeting: We have one home — Russia. It is important that we acquire a constructive corps of deputies as a result of the elections. Constructive does not mean obedient to the will of the executive. No. It can and, if you like, must be a kind of counterweight to the executive, but a sensible counterweight. This is the point of the separation of powers, the point of democracy.

The republics do, of course, have their own specific features, which have to be taken particularly into account in the election struggle. These are, above all, the ethnopolitical balance of forces and regard for the population's ethnic makeup. Distortions in such subtle issues are dangerous.

Chairman Kuyevda Explains Union of Directors' Credo

MM1610141195 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 14 Oct 95 p 5

[Interview with Grigoriy Andreyevich Kuyevda, chairman of the Union of Industrial and Agricultural Enterprise Directors, by Zhanna Kasyanenko under the "Candidate's Stance" rubric; place and date not given: "We Do Not Live Just for the Day"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kasyanenko] Is the Union of Directors an attempt to extricate the country from its dysfunctional state with the aid of independent directorial activity?

[Kuyevda] A union is always a union — a community of like-minded people. I do not understand those members of the opposition who believe that everything is going the way it should — the worse the better and the quicker this regime will collapse. The regime must not be identified with the motherland. Sooner or later the power of the timeservers will pass. And what will we be left with in our country? Destroyed plants, weed-choked fields, foreigners owning everything that constitutes a national asset and the foundation of the country's security?

Halting the process of disintegration and pillage and preserving the things we still have left is the Union of Directors' main task. You used the somewhat ironic term "independent activity." It is not independent activity but responsibility which is needed in resolving this task.

Today, when business links and contacts have been severed, directors can use our Union as an instrument to negotiate among themselves and tackle their production problems of exchanging output, components, and other essentials necessary for the survival and preservation of production. Even sharing experience of survival with each other is very useful, but this is not the only thing the Union will take on.

We have created a legal service which, as experience has shown, is sometimes very useful when tackling questions of enterprise privatization. We are often approached for assistance of precisely this kind. You see, wholesale privatization leads to collectives becoming isolated from their own plants and factories, essentially throws them destitute into the street, and makes them dependent on new bosses. Who today can protect people and the country's wealth which the people created? By uniting in the Council, directors can fight this.

But we do not confine ourselves to just production matters. The social sphere and culture also fall within the field of the Union of Directors' activity. It is participating in the creation of a culture center whose aim is to revive socialist spiritual values and help patriotically-minded cultural figures who are experiencing very hard times today. We are working with medics and teachers.

[Kasyanenko] All that looks fine. But do we have many patriotic directors who have not gone along with the chance to have an easy live by participating in the selling off of the country?

[Kuyevda] The question of the directors corps is very painful to me. Painful because a very great deal once depended on it. The fate of the country, I could rightly say. If in 1991 the directors who supported the State Committee for the State of Emergency had not immediately made a 180-degree turnaround, everything would have undoubtedly turned out differently. That was 1991. Then there was also October 1993, when the directors of big enterprises should have expressed their view on the violation of the country's constitution. Everything would certainly have been different, there would certainly not have been so much blood.

Incidentally, the purposeful work with the directors corps is indeed bearing fruit if a considerable proportion of them form part of the regime. Whereas Gorbachev fettered the directors with his "democracy without limits" and extremely stupid — and harmful for production — system of elections, when people would vote not for the director who could organize production but for some nice "democratic" guy who eventually wrecked everything, Yeltsin has acted differently. The directors have been let in on the ripping off of the country; they have been simply bought. In the last four years Russia has been robbed of a great deal. Surely directors know about the export of nonferrous metals and strategic raw materials and all these auctions involving changes of ownership? And what about the overseas trips taken allegedly to gain experience? What experience, when everything

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has been wrecked? I see these trips as a camouflaged bribe.

I am not their judge. Let them be judged by people — the workers left without work and their children. But far from all of them are like that, fortunately. We still have many real patriots who are keenly concerned about the fate of production in our country and live for the future not just the unhappy day which is today. And I am with them. Our Union contains 280 directors, leaders of major scientific centers, and businessman. And we are open to all who have stuck by their country and their people. Let them come forward. Together we will survive and win.

Investors Pressure Government To Help Get Money Back

MM1710112195 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Oct 95 p 1

[Report by Yaroslav Shimov: "People Play MMM Roulette While Suggesting Everyone Should Pay for This"]

[FBIS Translated Text] There is a new twist in the months-long affair involving money invested in financial companies which have gone bust. The state has now been earnestly urged to help the victims of pyramid-selling companies directly out of the budget, that is to say, at the expense of all taxpayers, even those who refused from the very outset to believe the promises of MMM and Tibet-type outfits.

A pretty noisy assembly under the name of the "Unification Congress of Russian Investors and Holders of Securities" was held in Moscow the other day. The congress' appealingly frank decisions contain the demand that the Duma and cabinet "track down the funds and return Russian citizens' savings to them." If someone does undertake to put these decisions into practice all Russia's taxpayers will in effect have to pay for the misfortunes, mistakes, and stupidities of the investors in Tibet and Vlastilin and other unfortunates with their taxes. For all one's sympathy with the duped investors, it is hard to see this as logical or justified.

Moscow City Duma Deputy Vyacheslav Makarov, who heads the Public Council of Investors, confirmed in effect to IZVESTIYA the organization's intention to seek transfusions of money from the budget. True, according to Mr. Makarov, this chiefly involves setting up a state body (investment chamber) which will monitor progress in the investigation of the activity of companies run by swindlers and coordinate all the state's efforts directed toward solving the problems of pyramid companies. But it is understood that the work of this structure, if set up, will have to be financed out of the state budget.

This does not, of course, entail the kind of expenditure which could be involved if the state suddenly took it into its head to settle all the aggrieved investors' claims. The financial companies' debts to investors in Moscow alone exceed 6 trillion rubles [R], according to Makarov. However, the effectiveness of a special agency designed to look after investors' misfortunes does cause misgivings, particularly as there already exists, for example, the Federal Commission for Securities and the Stock Market, whose functions when it was being set up, as I recall, included protecting Russian investors against financial swindlers. Whether it discharges those functions well is another matter.

Vladimir Lukyanov, the leader of another investors' organization — the Association of Private Investors — informed your IZVESTIYA correspondent that the Association of Private Investors has apparently achieved an agreement in principle with government representatives to set up a special commission which will try to get back the money buried in the pyramid companies by selling the bankrupt companies' real estate. We were not able, however, to obtain more precise information about this commission, its possible makeup, or startup date. The government press service did not confirm the information about the setting up of the commission, although it did not deny it either.

By all accounts, the plans of Moscow's defenders of duped investors' rights remain just plans for the time being. As was to be expected, the Finance Ministry's budget department and the State Duma Committee for the Budget both assured us that no special expenditure to compensate the clients of "bubble" companies for their losses is envisaged in the federal budget.

On the other hand, state-sponsored philanthropy is becoming fashionable far removed from the capital. In the city of Chaykovskiy, Perm Oblast, the local mayor intends, according to YeAN, to pay duped investors money out of the budget and he has already submitted an appropriate proposal to the city Duma and oblast Legislative Assembly.

The closer the elections come, the more frequently politicians and representatives of power call to mind the problems of the victims of financial speculation, which do indeed in many cases result in human tragedy. The action groups, after a lull, are stepping up their activity. One of the most scandalous — the Tibet investors' group, headed by ex-Zhirinovskiy supporter Yuriy Voronin — has, for example, threatened that several Tibet investors will publicly set fire to themselves in downtown Moscow. There is a great deal of clamor,

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but there is still no consistent action on the part of the state capable of really helping investors without picking the other taxpayers' pockets.

ZAVTRA Reports Assault on Military Correspondent

MK1710063695 Moscow ZAVTRA in Russian No. 41, Oct 95 (Signed to press 10 Oct 95) p 1

['DEN' Security Service report: "Terrorist Act Against ZAVTRA Correspondent"]

[FBIS Translated Text] An assault was committed at 2200 on 9 October against ZAVTRA military correspondent Vladislav Shurygin, whose department prepared for publication the article "A Nuclear Bomb for.... Chechnya" (No. 40).

Pointing pistols at Shurygin, four unidentified persons forced him into a car, drove him to a vacant lot, and brutally beat him up, injuring his head and ribs. Before leaving him, beaten up and in a semiconscious state, they said: "If you dig for nuclear arms, we'll kill you!"

The newspaper ZAVTRA demands that the Prosecutor's Office and the FSB [Federal Security Service] begin an investigation and once again points to the seriousness of the problem of nuclear terrorism.

Bus Hijacking Incident To Lead to Tighter Security

MK1710143395 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Oct 95 p 1

[Report by Irina Shkarnikova and Oleg Rubnikovich: "Security on Red Square Can Be Tightened Substantially. Special Services Draw Conclusions From the Incident on Vasilyevskiy Slope"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Last Saturday [14 October] an unidentified gunman took hostage a bus full of South Korean tourists on Red Square in Moscow. [passage omitted]

According to your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent, who was present at the scene of the Saturday incident, the hostage-taking aroused high interest among passersby, who crowded around to gawk at the captured bus. Among the special service chiefs who visited the scene, FSB [Federal Security Service] Director Mikhail Barsukov and Presidential Security Service chief Aleksandr Korzhakov were spotted. The expression on their faces suggested that there would be no problem with the successful completion of the operation, which in fact was eventually the case. Experts believe the operation posed no particular difficulty for such past masters as the Alpha group fighters. Moreover, the terrorist was apparently a dilettante. [passage omitted]

There is no doubt that the hostage incident in immediate proximity to Boris Yeltsin's Kremlin residence will be used to tighten security around the Russian president, especially considering that in the run-up to the parliamentary and presidential elections, terrorism could be used as an instrument for changing the country's policy, which was evidenced graphically by the Shamil Basayev case. This was apparently why yesterday conferences were held at the Internal Affairs Ministry, the Main Protection Directorate, and the Presidential Security Service on improving protection of the Kremlin and adjacent territory. Today an enlarged session will take place with the participation of senior officials from the above special services, after which an official statement will be released on the incident at Vasilyevskiy Slope.

Practical measures are also being considered. Thus, according to some reports, it is planned to increase the number of duty officers in plain clothes on Red Square, to install additional video cameras to monitor the situation, and to step up the search of individuals visiting the square.

Furthermore, additional security measures will be introduced in the Moscow metro because law-enforcement agencies do not rule out the possibility of terrorist acts patterned after the Zatikyan group in the late 70s.

Media Issues

Poltoranin Interviewed on Selling Off of Mass Media

LD1510110295 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1346 GMT 14 Oct 95

["Mayak Panorama" interview with Mikhail Poltoranin, chairman of the State Duma Committee for Information Policy and Communications, by Vera Schelkunoa; place and date not given — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Shchelkunova] In connection with the liquidation of the Ostankino Television Company we will all become independent, as it were. This means that these companies will be sold off and 51 percent of the shares will remain with the state. But this is only the intention. The agreement or disagreement of the State Duma deputies is needed here. You have thought about this for a long time and you have adopted appropriate decisions on the reorganization of radio and television broadcasting. To what extent does all this hang together and what can be expected from this?

[Poltoranin] First of all, this does not hang together at all. Why? The idea of the sell-off is progressive because a state that has many television channels and many radio

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channels and also has such colossal budget deficits must search for some options but, at the same time, retain its state control over the electronic mass media because they are like atom bombs. In fact, the president has obviously been taken for a ride and has been deceived in a major way. One day he will wake up and see all this with his own eyes, and then it will be too late. The most laughable thing is that the reason ORT [Russian Public Television] was created was to reduce the load on the budget, but this is not happening. First, ORT continues to be financed from state coffers. Moreover, [First Deputy Prime Minister] Anatoliy Chubays held a conference which was attended by Vitaliy Ignatenko [deputy prime minister and director general of ITAR-TASS], Sergey Blagovolin [director general of Russian Public Television], Shabrasulov, and all those people, and there was an instruction to ensure the financing of ORT by not paying budget funds to regional television companies and the All-Russian State Television and Radio Company, the VGTRK.

[Schelkunoa] Since he who pays the piper calls the tune, does this not mean that the state is reasserting its control over television?

[Poltoranin] No. The state is not reasserting its control and there has been a confusion of concepts with state property being handed over to a certain political group of people while the state continues to finance this commercial structure of the same group of people. I am very afraid that the sell-offs of Mayak and Yunost will follow the same principle because this grouping will also take over the radio. The monopoly the group has is not enough for it and the same thing will continue; it will be financed out of the state coffers, but it won't be a state company. This will be the group of Chubays, Ignatenko, Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev, and they will conduct their own policy. So, the whole of the electronic mass media will have been seized.

[Schelkunoa] Apart from NTV, at least.

[Poltoranin] Well, they can sort out NTV in an hour or so. So, if he signs such decrees the president will not even be able to make an address to the nation. He won't have the means to make it. That's how it could all end. So, yes, the plans are correct, as it were. They comply with our concept. This concept is one of expanding the area of information in order to maintain a single information space and, on the other hand, so that there will be more information channels for people to select. But now these people will load their weapons and the same point of view will be hammered into people's heads. When they sell off Mayak, Yunost and the other radio channels they won't provide anything good. They'll say: We are not obliged to; we are a private company and we don't give a damn. We shall say what we like.

[Schelkunoa] There's another aspect here, I think, because we already know such all-embracing and total state control, we have had it before. In general, it is the dream of any mass information medium to escape from state control. It is another thing if a state proclaims itself to be democratic; it should then be concerned that the mass information media should also be democratic.

[Poltoranin] That's right. We are adopting a law on the press and mass information media. We have got rid of censorship. This doesn't mean that we should pull out from under the state the most important channel of communication between all spheres of authority and the people as well as the other CIS countries and abroad. To take it away from the state and give it such a grouping; nobody knows what they'll come up with tomorrow! Let the state keep a channel. Yes. Let it give part of it to investors. They may conduct their own policy there, although there is the 51 percent of the shares but let these people, if they are rich and if they are considered to be rich, and if they wish to create their mass information media, let them do it in parallel. So there won't be one channel over which people are fighting and shooting and killing each other. Let them launch satellites, let them have 10 TV towers like the Ostankino Tower or a bit smaller. We have several towers that have been mothballed. Some investment needs to be put into them and they can operate independently. According to all laws the following possibility exists today: Invest, develop. No, what they want is to seize it all and redistribute this property. That's where the problem lies.

[Schelkunoa] Mikhail Nikiforovich: This presidential decree on improving television and radio broadcasting...

[Poltoranin] Decrees always say they are improving things, they never talk about destroying state television. There won't be such a headline.

[Schelkunoa] Yes. What will the State Duma do with it? Must it approve it or will it simply agree and say this is how it has to be?

[Poltoranin] The Duma can't do anything now. It is without any rights. The Duma can only talk and become annoyed at something and that is exactly what we are doing. The Duma's only option is for the deputies to get together and hire [Chechen guerrilla leader] Shamil Basayev to conduct talks with the executive authorities on how to do things. But the Duma won't do that. It is waiting for the moment when a new Duma will arrive in order to correct the balance. The legal balance has now been disrupted.

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[Schelkunoa] Well, the decree says that the issue of a sell-off should be considered. With whom will the president, or anyone else, consider this?

[Poltoranin] This will be looked at by the government. There will be someone from that same grouping that I was speaking of that has now seized Ostankino, Berezovskiy or Ignatenko or someone, and they will come up with a new draft for a government directive, with their own stamps of approval on it, with that of the deputy prime minister, and other officials. Then Chernomyrdin will sign it and give his approval to the sell-off procedure. Suffice it to say that they won't be satisfied with obtaining both Mayak and Yunost. They won't say: Oh boy, we've got too much on our plate, we won't be able to cope with it all and get trillions out of the budget. They'll say: Give us some perks such as cars for transportation, proceeds from oil sales.

[Schelkunoa] Wherever you look in our society now, it always appears that one problem leads to another, and another.

[Poltoranin] Any problem now depends upon the president.

TV Chiefs Comment on Effects of Yeltsin Edict

MM1710075895 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Oct 95 p 4

[Report by Olga Bakushinskaya: "Will They Bury Poptsov Along With 'Ostankino'?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] President Yeltsin's edict "On Improving Television and Radio Broadcasting in the Russian Federation" was a veritable bombshell for television circles. The "Ostankino" staff who found themselves on the street organized a rowdy meeting and Yevgeniy Kiselev, in the latest edition of "Itogi," transparently hinted that the edict would most likely result in the dismissal of Oleg Poptsov. On top of everything else, NTV is actively laying claim to Channel Four, whose morning and afternoon airtime belongs to Russian Television. We asked Igor Malashenko, president of NTV, and Oleg Poptsov, chairman of the All-Russia State Radio and Television Company, to comment on the situation.

Igor Malashenko: "Ostankino" collapsed not through the wishes of the president but under the weight of its own contradictions. The main problem is that in the company broadcaster and producer were not separate people.

"Ostankino" did not even own the equipment it was using (it was owned by the Television Technical Center) and it was an organization without a normal economy, which many talented people had left. The edict is good for the very reason that it is a statement of the prevailing state of affairs.

As for Yevgeniy Kiselev's comment in the latest edition of "Itogi," that is the "Itogi" presenter's personal opinion.

I will say, though, that the edict contains a point on the transformation of Russian Television and Radio into a unitary state enterprise and the approval of a new charter. By rights, the approval of the charter should be followed by the reappointment of the leader. In view of the large number of "well-wishers," I can predict behind-the-scenes machinations to ensure that Oleg Maskimovich is left on the sidelines.

Finally, in our view, "Russian Universities" should give way to a more competitive channel. In our two years of existence we have demonstrated that.

Oleg Poptsov: As a landmark, this edict is very important, if only for our company. It supports the blueprint we proposed for the development of Russian television and also regulated the relationship with regional television companies, which have recently started to fill our airtime with pirated movies and their own advertisements.

The fate of "Ostankino" is worrying, of course. But let us be honest: What happened there did not happen by accident. The moment when the Television Technical Center became a corporate body was the beginning of the end. Lots of joint-stock companies and stalls have sprung up, and it has become a dangerous business walking around the television center in the evening among strange people dressed in leather with strange looks on their faces and saying things like: "How convenient — you can buy everything here, including condoms...."

Now about my job.

Although the newly created unitary state enterprise is the successor to the All-Russia State Television and Radio Company and keeps its name, in theory the edict allows for the removal of both the job and me from it. For some reason Kiselev linked the signing of the edict to the publication of my book. He called it memoirs, although it describes current events. Memoirs are actually written on leaving, books for no particular reason....

Russian Television has no intention of giving up its part of NTV Channel Four. The desire to expand is laudable, but not at the expense of the sole educational channel. It is necessary to improve program quality, but not deprive our destitute science, culture, and education of the only airtime they have left. There are talented people working

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for NTV, but there is no reason to delve into the state purse to help it.

Loss of 'Cultural Asset' Mourned

MM1610153495 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Oct 95 p 8

[Report by Igor Yadykin: "'Ostankino' Is No More at Ostankino"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Henceforth the word "Ostankino" will only exist as the geographical name of one of the more picturesque corners of Moscow. The television company that brought its name world renown is no more. The edict "On Improving Television and Radio Broadcasting in the Russian Federation," which prescribed that this process start with the elimination of the "Ostankino" Russian State Television and Radio Company, was issued 6 October.

So we will just have to go without. But in this case it is appropriate to consider this unusual event (we have had "Ostankino" for 30 years), if only because millions of national and CIS viewers, even after six months of broadcasting on Channel One by Public Russian Television [ORT], associate the latter with the "Ostankino" TV Company.

To summarize a few of the things that my colleagues have said and the opinions voiced by State Duma deputies and members of the government and the "Ostankino" labor collective, therefore, let me venture to tell you some of the reasons for abolishing the Russian State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company. They are primarily economic: The country cannot afford the upkeep of so many state television companies (the "Rossiya" All-Russia State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company, "Peterburg-Channel Five," plus regional television companies) and the semi-state "ORT" Joint-Stock Company, in which its banker-cofounders are in no hurry to invest their money....

Another point. During a recent audit of "Ostankino's" financial and economic activity over the last few years carried out by the Russian Comptrollers Office (the State Duma conveyed the results to the General Prosecutor's Office) serious irregularities were disclosed, as a result of which the state has suffered millions of dollars in damages and commercial structures were able to buy not 49 percent of the shares in ORT, as intended under the presidential edict, but a whole 50 percent.

There are, however, a host of other reasons also. But the fact remains that "Ostankino" is no more. And it is worth reflecting on the main point: what this will mean for the viewer and national culture in creative terms.

On a worldwide scale, so to speak, the elimination of "Ostankino" primarily means the destruction of one of the world's three largest television companies and along with it the further unification and standardization of world television broadcasting.

As far as the country is concerned this means the loss of the institution of national television, a national cultural asset. For the other TV companies, both state-owned and private, this means the removal of a (creatively) strong competitor with its own regular viewers, particularly among members of the older generation.

We can in all probability expect the further commercialization of television with all the attendant consequences. Television channels' broadcasting networks can be seen today to be gradually acquiring "kindred" traits, reduced to the primitive U.S. formula of news, show, thriller, soap opera, music, news..... The result being that our television is renouncing one of its key functions — the educational function. Thus, according to Oleg Poptsov, a number of commercial structures — founders of ORT and NTV — have already "set their sights" on the "Rossiyskiye Universitety" Channel.

Folk art and national cultural program are being jettisoned: namely "Zhivoye Derevo Remesel," "Shire Krug," "Poet Selo Rodnoye," the "Raduga" International Festival of Folk Art, etc., etc. Instead we can expect new show and gameshow equivalents of their Western counterparts and new adventures of "Wild Rose" [Mexican soap opera], which are bound to be popular for six months at most (see for yourselves).

Questions, questions.... What will happen, for instance, to the 9 percent of the shares in the ORT Joint-Stock Company that belong to "Ostankino"? And, importantly, what will happen to the top-notch television specialists? I am bound to agree with the authoritative opinion of my professional colleagues. First, the television company's vast creative potential must be preserved. Second, it must be turned into a television production company that will be able to benefit society still further amid sound competition.

Let me add on my own account, as an ordinary viewer, that we have gotten accustomed (or inured) to easily renouncing our past, the roots that sustained us, our culture, our traditions.... We are squandering the little that we have. But there may come a time when we will have nothing left to squander. Is it not time for us to ponder that?

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Military & Nuclear Issues

Belyayev Denies Troops Ordered Into Moscow

LD1610192895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1851 GMT 16 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Oct 16 (INTERFAX) — Russian Armed Forces are not being used to step up security and guard main facilities either in Moscow or outside the city after the Saturday night terrorist act near the Kremlin.

Chief of Staff of the Russian Airborne Troops Valeriy Belyayev told INTERFAX Monday that airborne troops were not ordered to guard any economic facilities. Airborne troops commanders "have not received orders to bring troops into Moscow or any other city," he said.

Airborne troops are continuing regular training at their permanent location, said Belyayev.

He also said that airborne troops units brought into Moscow and other major cities last June returned to their barracks on August 6 and have received no orders to guard any economic facilities since then.

Airborne troops units were brought into Moscow in June after the Chechen terrorist raid on the town of Budennovsk, in the Stavropol territory. Over 100 people were killed as a result of the raid.

Security Stepped Up at Nuclear Plants, Other Installations

LD1610124495 Moscow 2x2 Television in Russian 1200 GMT 16 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Security has been stepped up from today at all nuclear and other essential installations throughout Russia, an Interior Ministry spokesman told the RIA news agency. He said this is in response to urgent information about possible acts of terrorism by Shamil Basayev's group on the territory of central Russia. The alert primarily concerns those installations where radioactive materials are stored. He also counted urban water supply systems, electricity power lines, bridges, gas pipelines, and underground railroads as essential installations.

Federal Assembly

Ilyukhin Urges Corruption Investigation on Shumeyko

LD1610212495 Moscow INFORMATSIONNOYE AGENTSTVO EKHO MOSKVY in Russian 1730 GMT 16 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] "I have sent to the Federation Council documents and a letter asking the deputies and members of the Federation Council to set up a parliamentary commission to establish whether Federation Council Chairman Vladimir Shumeyko has been involved in corruption," Viktor Ilyukhin, chairman of the State Duma Security Committee, told Ekho Moskvy Radio.

He said that "this concerns a number of criminal cases where his name keeps being mentioned, construction of dachas in Kaliningrad Region, Shumeyko's involvement in arms trading, and the latest statement by Vlastelina company head Valentina Solovyeva to the effect that the Russian Federation speaker laundered huge sums through her firm."

"I suggest that in order to remove all suspicion or to take another decision, a parliamentary commission is needed to check these facts."

Article Notes Shumeyko's Views on Military Funding

964F0097A Moscow INTERFAKS-AIF in Russian 25 Sep 95 No 13, p 3

[Article by Ilya Sinyutkin: "Will V. Shumeyko Manage To Increase Military Expenditures?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Up to this point in the debates over the 1996 Russian budget only voices of representatives of the government, deputies of the State Duma, and outside experts have been clearly heard. The upper chamber of parliament, the Federation Council, has remained somewhat on the sidelines. Few recall the opinion of the "senators," who represent the mighty regional elite, who have their own view of things.

We know for certain that the leaders of the components of the Federation will staunchly defend the so-called "federalism" of the budget, which means greater financial independence for the regions.

Last week there appeared, however, signs that the Federation Council intends to defend its own view of the budget process as a whole.

The INTERFAX Agency disseminated a report about an official letter which Federation Council Speaker Vladimir Shumeyko sent to Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin.

V. Shumeyko spoke out in favor of increasing military expenditures and suggested revising the principles of defense financing included in the draft budget for 1996.

Additionally, it is emphasized in the letter that the need for financing defense and ensuring state security "must take precedence" and "have unconditional priority," "regardless of how difficult the financial and economic situation in the country may be."

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The overall sum of the increase in defense allocations proposed by the speaker is 7 trillion rubles [R] (to R86 trillion).

The speaker justifies his proposals by, among other things, "the aggravation of the foreign political situation" and the "change in the economic situation in the country" (without, incidentally, elaborating on these concepts).

V. Shumeyko advocates particularly adding money for scientific research work for the needs of the Army and the purchase of new types of weapons and technical materiel.

V. Shumeyko's letter may be regarded as one of the first serious signals that this time the regional leaders intend to defend their opinion more staunchly than they did when the 1995 budget was being adopted.

One of the key aspects of the battle over the budget in the Federation Council will be the interests of the military-industrial complex, whose enterprises compose the lion's share of the economic infrastructure in the majority of the provincial centers of the country. Military plants and productions that serve them are the basis and a condition for the vital activity of entire regions of Russia, and people employed in military and paramilitary production make up a considerable share of the voters here.

There is another important aspect of V. Shumeyko's address (which, according to certain information, gained support for his step from a large part of the Federation Council). While emphasizing the importance of continuing the financing of research work in the area of military developments, V. Shumeyko proposed introducing "principles of program financing" for defense.

These principles, according to the text of the message to the prime minister, imply "financial technology which would envision automation of the financing of certain defense expenditures for the entire period when one defense program or another is in effect, without taking out credit each year."

V. Shumeyko's idea of paying the pension to military servicemen (more than 12 percent of the expenditures on defense) not out of the military budget, as envisioned by the plan, but out of the general federal budget might seem attractive so some.

But it seems that this is another one of those proposals that are difficult to implement under current conditions, which might be rejected in order to achieve the main thing—an increase in the military budget. To do this, true, one must first convince the other legislators and the government that defense expenditures must be considered a priority of the 1996 budget.

Zatulin Sees Belarus Integration as Futile Expense

MM1710092995 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Oct 95 p 1

[Report on interview with Konstantin Zatulin, chairman of the State Duma Committee for CIS Affairs and Links With Compatriots, by Nikolay Musiyenko; place and date not given: "Change of Clothes..."]

[FBIS Translated Text] As is known, the Federation Council supported a proposal from a group of deputies that a referendum be held in the Russian Federation on deepening economic and political integration between Russia and Belarus. We requested Konstantin Zatulin, chairman of the State Duma Committee for CIS Affairs and Links with Compatriots, to comment on this decision.

"At first glance," he said, "it is extremely surprising that such an initiative should come from a body which has 'deep-sixed' Duma demands to Russia's leadership to take a tough stand on many fundamental questions relating to Russia's mutual relations with the countries of the so-called new near abroad. Questions such as dividing up the Black Sea Fleet or safeguarding the security of Russians in the Dniester region, for example. In fact, however, there is nothing surprising about it, for it is clear from the accompanying memorandum from the initiators of a referendum, who include, in particular, deputy Nikolay Gonchar, that the idea of such a plebiscite came to Federation Council members from a realization that 'the time has come when the elites not only in the CIS countries but also in Russia itself find themselves in a situation compelling them to accept this idea as the only means of self-preservation.'

"It is precisely this," Konstantin Fedorovich continued, "which is telling politicians who were once in sympathy with the idea of transforming millions of people from our fellow citizens into our compatriots abroad to change tack on the eve of the parliamentary elections in Russia and try on for size the clothes of supporters of integration. I am convinced that given a sincere desire to reunite with our Belarusian brothers the Chernomyrdin government is in a position to adopt without delay a far-reaching decision on integration with Belarus without any referendum. A referendum is a very expensive thing, you see. But if deputy Gonchar and his comrades are nevertheless impatient to hold a referendum on a matter which is in fact not in dispute, they might be so kind as to propose a scheme, agreed with the Belarusian side, for a new state setup for united Russia and Belarus. By contrast a vote on the formula 'Do you want to be

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friends with Belarus?' is a vacuous and furthermore very expensive undertaking...."

Duma's Zadornov Questions Government's Budget Policy

MK1710073495 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 11 Oct 95 p 2

[Report by Aleksandr Bekker: "Mikhail Zadornov Has Expressed to the IMF His Doubts About the Correctness of the Government's Budget Policy. Fund Officials Supported the Government, But Also Listened to the Budget Committee Arguments"]

[FBIS Translated Text] For the first time during the stage of formulating next year's budget, State Duma representatives, breaking the government's monopoly, have entered into direct negotiations with the IMF leadership. Yesterday Mikhail Zadornov, chairman of the Budget and Finance Committee, who arrived in Washington, met with IMF Executive Director Michel Camdessus; his first deputy, Stanley Fisher; and Yusuke Horiguchi [names as transliterated], deputy director of the IMF Second European Department.

During his talk with the IMF director, Zadornov's opponent was Anatoliy Chubays. Camdessus supported the first deputy premier and the government's budget concept, adding that the West highly assesses the progress of Russian reforms, to which the Budget Committee chairman observed that Russia is less optimistic over their results and the prospects for the 1996 budget. He drew attention to implementation of the current budget, which has shown that strict adherence to the government's economic program and the IMF's recommendations does not ensure full accomplishment of the set targets. This refers both to the inflation rate and to financing separate budget articles, primarily the social sphere and the defense order. The application of the standard approach to the 1996 budget could reproduce this and other problems. However, according to Zadornov, he did not feel that there was a full understanding of his position on the part of Camdessus. Therefore, at the political level, a difference in views emerged between the IMF and the parliament's plenipotentiary on the forecast for Russia's socioeconomic development and the prospects for the 1996 budget.

Mr. Zadornov's conversation with Messrs. Fisher and Horiguchi was more lengthy and substantive. The Russian economist reiterated his point that even a formally perfect implementation of the parameters envisioned by the government's economic program of 10 March does not guarantee financial stabilization. Furthermore, unforeseen obstacles to this target are possible. The banking crisis was one such obstacle. For this reason budget revenues in September fell by 30 percent compared to August. And this, according to the Duma committee chairman, is a hard fact, whereas the government's intention to ensure revenues equal to 1 percent of GDP from increased excise gas duties and the renunciation of the "30:70" enterprise formula for wage reserve requirements before the end of the year is still very much in the air.

"We are worried not only by the inflation rate, but also by the execution of the revenue plan," Zadornov told the IMF leadership. He invited them to consider the following approach: If the government has misjudged the level of monthly inflation and the Finance Ministry has as a result received additional revenues, they should be fully directed to finance expenditures with specific spending plans coordinated with parliament. At present the government makes such spending only furtively, as it were, bypassing the budget law and presenting parliament with a fait accompli. This refers to financing Chechnya's economy, which is not provided for in the 1995 budget, through credits from authorized banks, subsequently to be repaid from the budget. It also refers to government loans to the regions, not shown in the budget.

Mr. Zadornov pointed to a certain formalism in the government's approach to emission-free financing of the budget deficit: While declaring the "full and final" renunciation of Central Bank credits, the government at the same time does not renounce such inflationary paper as treasury bonds, while the local authorities include receipts from bank promissory notes in budget revenues. "So which is better — using a normal monetary emission by the Central Bank, or having monetary surrogates that affect inflation just the same?," Zadornov asked the IMF leaders. In response Horiguchi said that the intention should be to get rid of both, but nonetheless monetary surrogates are a lesser evil. While not accepting Zadornov's position as a whole, he agreed, however, that the next budget law should provide for a regulation on expenditure financing in real terms, i.e., based on actual inflation rates. Mr. Zadornov presented two such mechanisms to Mr. Horiguchi, but thought it premature to discuss them in the press.

Duma Recommends Approval of Key Budget Figures

LD1710120995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1120 GMT 17 Oct 95

[By Pavel Kuznetsov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW October 17 (ITAR-TASS) — The budget committee of the State Duma will recommend to the lower house to adopt the key

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figures of the 1996 draft budget and then work on details in a conciliatory commission uniting legislators and government officials.

Oksana Dmitriyeva from the committee told reporters Tuesday the Duma will be recommended to pass the budget under the first reading. The vote on the proposal is to take place Wednesday.

Last Friday the Duma did not adopt any concrete decision on the draft budget.

Dmitriyeva said the conciliatory commission will have to take into account the remarks and proposals made at the Friday Duma session.

The debate on Friday focused on government-planned 1.2 per cent monthly inflation and most Duma members said at least 3 per cent should be fixed in the budget for next year.

Duma Committee Calls For New Defense Doctrine

LD1610153895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1331 GMT 16 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Oct 16 (INTERFAX) — The parliamentary committee for national security led by Communist deputy Viktor Ilyukhin has drawn up a resolution calling for the State Duma, Russia's lower house of parliament, to qualify the state of national security as unsatisfactory.

In an interview with Interfax on Monday, Ilyukhin said the draft resolution would go before the Duma for debate on Friday.

It asks President Boris Yeltsin to send the draft of a new defense doctrine to parliament by December 31 on the grounds that the existing one was unconstitutionally approved by the national security council at the end of 1993 when the former parliament was dissolved but a new one was not formed.

In a cover letter, the committee described the state of national security as reaching a critical level with Russia's geopolitical interests being lost and its prestige as a great power falling.

On the country's defenses, it claimed that the program of rearming and updating the country's nuclear deterrence and submarine fleet was being undermined. The letter says Russia has virtually lost the Black Sea Fleet while the Baltic Fleet is incapable of carrying out military tasks even in Russia's territorial waters. The combat readiness by the submarine fleet fell by five to sixfold, and that of warships by ten to twelvefold compared with the same indicator in 1991, it claims.

The letter also says that the land forces are manned at only 60%-70%, and have received only 20%-30% of the new missile and artillery systems needed.

Regional Affairs

Chechnya Reportage; Political, Military, Terrorist

Lobov Explains Mission in Chechnya

LD1610204495 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 16 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] In an exclusive interview with Radio Rossii, Oleg Lobov has said the main task of his current visit is to find ways to restart the peace talks. As if to prove this point, representatives of the Russian and Chechen sides and of the Special Supervisory Commission travelled outside the bounds of Groznyy the same day in search for new premises for the Chechen delegation and for the Special Supervisory Commission.

According to V. Mikhaylov, the head of the Russian delegation at the talks aimed at solving the conflict in Chechnya, the commission will resume its work in the very near future.

According to Oleg Lobov, the agreement on the package of military issues has never been implemented. The ostentatious mangling of a few dozen old rifles and sporting guns under tank tracks cannot be viewed as the beginning of the process. In practice, not a single one of Dudayev's units has been disarmed. Not a single village has surrendered its weapons. According to Lobov, the main problem in the republic is 250,00 unemployed. For most of them weapons are the only means of livelihood.

In this connection, at a recent meeting between Boris Yeltsin and leaders of the republics making up the Russian Federation, Lobov raised three main issues — first, drafting a program for the creation of new jobs for approximately 430,000 people, second, developing the mountainous areas in Chechnya and third, implementing the presidential edict on the payment of allowances to victims of the conflict. The solution to these three problems will help to stabilize the situation and help the negotiations on the package of military issues to succeed. Lobov said that another important task of his visit to Groznyy was to speed up the restoration work in the republic and to restore power and gas supplies to the public. [passage omitted]

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Lobov Discusses Reconstruction Pace

LD1610194295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1851 GMT 16 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, Oct 16 (INTERFAX) — President Boris Yeltsin's envoy in Chechnya Oleg Lobov, now in Groznyy, met on Monday with federal and local government officials to discuss the pace of reconstruction work in Groznyy including preparations for the coming winter and restoration of vital facilities, Lobov's spokesman told reporters there on Monday.

According to Lobov, the meeting stated that the shorter range program had been fulfilled but this in itself was not enough to help city residents see through the next winter.

More effort is being taken and additional ways and means are being used to speed up reconstruction work in Groznyy ahead of the coming winter, the spokesman said. He spoke of the pace of work being accelerated last month.

The spokesman said as many as 18 boiler houses would be recommissioned by the end of this year, five of them being already at work. One maternity hospital is to be handed over to medical workers soon as well as a central hospital. A total of 19 schools are ready to accept pupils while nine others are still under repairs. "This is not good enough, but the rest of the schools have been badly damaged," the spokesman said. He put the number of private houses repaired at 2,500 with the figure to be doubled by the end of this year.

The city authorities are instructed to make up lists of homeless people and those living in basements in order to house them in hostels, administrative buildings and camps before winter sets in. Efforts are also being made to provide the population with oil radiators.

It is a question of resuming illumination of city streets and mounting army patrols at night, said the spokesman.

He said plans were under way to resume a trolleybus route linking the city center and local railway station.

Yeltsin Wants Power-Sharing Treaty

LD1710105295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1023 GMT 17 Oct 95

[By Nadezhda Anisimova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW October 17 (ITAR-TASS) — Russia signed a share-power deal with its republic of Udmurtia on Tuesday and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin expressed hope the breakaway Chechnya will follow suit one day, while President Boris Yeltsin stressed that Russia succeeded to preserve its unity and integrity.

"I greatly hope that such a document will be signed with the Chechen republic when time comes. We simply have something to live through", Chernomyrdin said after the signing ceremony.

Several Russian republics, like Tatarstan and Bashkiria, voiced independence claims after the collapse of the Soviet Union, but Moscow succeeded to calm them down by the share-power deals. It was only in Chechnya that force was used to quell the separatist bid.

"Today we can state for sure that, despite all hardships of the transition period, we succeeded to preserve the unity and integrity of Russia", Yeltsin said at the ceremony adding that the share-power treaties "became an important link in relations between the subjects of the Federation with the Centre".

The treaty with Udmurtia, a major Russian defence industry centre in the Urals, is the seventh share-power agreement signed by Moscow with its republics and Yeltsin stressed that in all of them "the political and social situation remains calm and things are not bad in economy".

Although the president admitted that Udmurtia would not survive without "major assistance from the federal centre", he urged local authorities "to play an important role" in developing their region.

The treaty with Udmurtia regulates budget and property relations with Moscow, ecology issues, the development of the defence industry, law enforcement formalities.

Chernomyrdin said similar treaties are being drafted with the Russian Baltic enclave of Kaliningrad, the northern Komi republic and the southern Krasnodar region.

Talks Contingent on Bombing Investigation

LD1610172195 Moscow NTV in Russian 1600 GMT 16 Oct 95

[From the "Segodnya" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Our correspondent Arkadiy Mamontov has just phoned in to the studio with important news from Groznyy.

[Mamontov] This morning a Russian delegation arrived in Groznyy to resume negotiations. Oleg Lobov, the Russian president's representative in Chechnya, made a number of interesting announcements. He said he would be instructing the prosecutor's office to start investigating the cases of bombing strikes on Chechen settlements over the past two weeks. In Lobov's opinion, in spite of the National Accord Committee's request, a state of

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emergency would not be introduced in the near future, because in effect one is already in operation.

For his part, Sandor Meszaros, the head of the OSCE mission in Chechnya, told journalists that today had been devoted purely to procedural matters. The Chechen delegation at the talks, accompanied by representatives of the federal authorities, hunted for accommodation on the outskirts of Groznyy. This will most likely be Argun or Shali.

There were only working contacts today between the Chechen and Russian delegations. Vakhar Asanov, a member of the Conciliation Committee and representative of the Dudayev side, announced that negotiations could begin only after it has been clarified who bombed the Chechen settlements. To judge by all events, this question will be one of the main conditions for the start of negotiations in Chechnya.

Officials 'Continuing To Lie' About Bombings

MM1710113195 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Oct 95 p 1

[Report by Viktor Litovkin: "Villages Again Being Bombed in Chechnya. Army and Special Services Again Deny Responsibility"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The INTERFAX news agency, citing Movladi Udugov, head of information in Dzhokhar Dudayev's government, announced that on Saturday 14 October air strikes were launched against the settlements of Dargo and Belgatoy in southern Chechnya. According to information from the same source, 17 people were killed and 23 were injured as a result of the bombing. On Sunday the Chechnya armed forces main staff, headed by Aslan Maskhadov, held a closed "conference of commanders of fronts and sectors," at which a plan for future action in connection with the air raids was discussed.

All our efforts to check Movladi Udugov's report with official Russian organs failed utterly. We were told at the Russian Defense Ministry Information Directorate that they could neither confirm nor deny this report, since they did not have any information in this connection. They are trying to obtain it, but when that will be no one knows.

Colonel General Viktor Miruk, deputy commander in chief of the country's Air Defense Forces, had nothing to tell us. "No one set us the task of tracking our own aircraft in Chechnya," he said, "so I cannot answer that question." The duty officer at the North Caucasus Military District Aviation Staff could offer no explanation either. "The commander is on leave," he said. "All the other senior officers are at exercises. And the rest know nothing. That goes for me too."

Neither the Federal Security Service [FSB] nor the Internal Affairs Ministry had any information on the bombing. We were told at the Internal Affairs Ministry Public Relations Center that their forces had no bombers and they had no information about helicopter gunships firing rockets.

It was not until the issue was going to press that we managed to obtain information from the command of the Combined Grouping of Federal Forces in Chechnya. They said there had been no bombing of Chechen villages. Incidentally, that is what our generals said some days ago when our own correspondent Igor Rotar, and then Sandor Meszaros, head of the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] mission in Groznyy, visited the settlement of Roshni-Chu, Urus-Martan Rayon, which had experienced such an air raid, and saw for themselves the destruction caused by rockets and bombs.

In conversation with our correspondent Vasiliy Kononenko, Security Council Deputy Secretary V. Rubanov said that at the time of the bombing of the Chechen village of Roshni-Chu he was in Groznyy with O. Lobov. "This action came as a total surprise to us," he said in conversation with the IZVESTIYA correspondent. "The president's official representative was immediately telephoned by Khadzhiyev, asking for an explanation. But O. Lobov had not been informed about plans for that kind on the part of the military command or about the bombing raid itself..."

According to V. Rubanov, the Defense Ministry and other power structures are obliged to coordinate their plans with the president's official representative in Chechnya. O. Lobov can also demand the requisite information from the power structures, and his orders are binding on the commanders of military units. After the Roshni-Chu bombing O. Lobov demanded information on the incident, but he did not get it and he does not have a full picture of the tragedy that occurred there.

Nonetheless, V. Rubanov warned in this connection against hasty accusations and suspicions. "I am very confident that the forces seeking a political settlement of the Chechen conflict were not involved in this bombing," he said. "We need to hold an investigation to ascertain all the circumstances of the tragedy. Since we are talking about a military-political incident which bears the hallmark of a war crime the Military Prosecutor's Office is obliged to carry out a preliminary check. At the same time, the possibility of bombing strikes by air-

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craft that are not subordinate to the military command in Chechnya cannot be discounted.

The only conclusion is that officials in the Russian Army and other power structures again prefer to treat the public like fools and are deceiving us just as they deceived us a year ago when "unidentified" aircraft bombed Groznyy and other cities and settlements in Chechnya, "unidentified" tanks entered the Chechen capital, and "unidentified" officers and men, who allegedly had nothing to do with regular military units, stormed the city off their own bat.

The big lie ended, as is known, in major bloodshed. No lessons have been learned from this. And they are continuing to lie to us!

What kind of a country is it in which villages can be bombed and the authorities do not know what aircraft they are and who is flying them and dropping bombs on fellow citizens?

Prosecutor To Investigate Airstrikes

LD1710095695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0934 GMT 17 Oct 95

[By Nikolay Zagnoyko]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, October 17 (ITAR-TASS) — "Air raids are forbidden. There is the president's directive on this point. The area you speak about, is controlled by illegal armed detachments. Therefore, it is very difficult to say unequivocally what happened there.

"The case is to be investigated by the prosecutor's office. However, certain conditions are necessary for this," the Russian president's plenipotentiary in Chechnya Oleg Lobov told reporters here on Tuesday concerning rumours about air strikes on the Chechen villages of Dargo and Kharsenoy.

Lobov who is also secretary of the powerful Russian Security Council, arrived in Groznyy from Moscow on Monday. He expressed opinion that it is the task of the two sides to create conditions for holding such an investigation.

Despite an extremely difficult situation in Chechnya, peaceful life is taking root in the republic. Lobov told a meeting on Monday that the minimum programme of restoration work was fulfilled in Groznyy.

However, the present efforts are clearly insufficient, especially in the sphere of preparations for winter. Despite a cold spell, a heating season has not started. Another five boiler-rooms have to be put into operation before end of the year.

Much has to be done to ensure gas and water supplies. However, the rates of restoration work and the talks on a peaceful settlement of the Chechen crisis will largely depend on a military situation.

The group of Russian reporters had a normal rest overnight for the first time since the start of the armed conflict: a hotel for 50 customers, the first in the Chechen capital, was put into operation in Groznyy.

However, "the house-warming" party which lasted late into the night, was accompanied by customary submachine-gun bursts in city streets.

Volskiy Warns of 'Appropriate' Response to Chechen Terror

LD1610170595 Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian 1500 GMT 16 Oct 95

[Video report by correspondent German Solomatin, including recorded comments by Arkadiy Volskiy, deputy head of the Russian delegation at the Chechen talks; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Oleg Lobov, Arkadiy Volskiy, and Vyacheslav Mikhailov arrived in Groznyy today. Attempts are being made to put the talks back on tracks.

[Solomatin] Everything shows that the aggravation of the situation in the Chechen Republic caused by paralysis in the work of the delegations to the talks after the attempt on General Romanov has reached a point after which either strong-arm actions by the federal forces or an immediate new stage of talks must follow. [passage omitted]

[Volskiy] There must be appropriate responses. And I am convinced that if such attacks and attempts on people's lives and so on continue, both our delegations have agreed a wording on appropriate responses. So they all must know, those who are bent on murders, attempts on people's lives, war and so on, must know that there will be an appropriate and serious response.

[Solomatin] The week that has begun is likely to become a key one, and the actions by the presidential envoy to the Chechen Republic and members of the Russian delegation to the talks are likely to become more resolute and persistent, for it is impossible to remain under the thumb of Dudayev's groups that are obviously slowing down the talks process and favoring strong-arm actions; otherwise another winter military campaign, even more bloody and fierce one, may follow. [video of Groznyy streets, servicemen with hardware]

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Security Services Seen Undermining Talks

LD1310194495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1639 GMT 13 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, Oct 13 (INTERFAX) — Chief rebel negotiator in talks in Groznyy Aslan Maskhadov, who also co-chairs the special commission for observing the military accords, has accused Russian security services and Salambek Khadzhiev's national revival government of seeking to undermine the peace talks between the rebels and Moscow.

There is no other third force interested in Chechnya war apart from Russian security services and the puppet regime of the so-called national revival government, he told INTERFAX late on Friday.

Maskhadov described as "a lie" the statement by deputy Russian military commander in Chechnya Pavel Maslov that an armed group blocked by Russian forces outside Sernovodskaya village represented a rogue third force outside Dudayev's control, bent on derailing the peace talks.

Maskhadov said he and Vice Governor of Chechnya Leonid Shiryayev had visited the village on Friday and that he showed the Russian official there were no rebels or armor there. Maskhadov said that only members of the 25-strong self defense unit elected by the villagers were carrying weapons.

Maskhadov said the blocking of Sernovodskaya and concentration of Russian troops outside Assinovskaya village were part of attempts to keep up troublespots throughout Chechnya as an excuse for renewed armed attacks and provocative acts.

On the situation in Groznyy, Maskhadov described as a destabilizing factor the activity by armed units controlled by Mayor of Groznyy Beslan Gantemirov. "I have long warned that this was an unruly force and must be disarmed first; it will always hamper us (in talks). But no one has heeded me," Maskhadov said.

Anti-Dudayev Leader Warns of 'Disaster'

LD1610173895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1621 GMT 16 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Oct 16 (INTERFAX) — Yusup Soslambekov, once in charge of short-lived opposition to separatist leader Dzhokhar Dudayev, has warned that shortage of food, low temperatures and diseases could lead to wholesale disaster in Chechnya. In a statement in Moscow on Monday, he said the residents of Chechnya might face an unprecedented tragedy.

Soslambekov accused Moscow of being unable and unwilling to lead the republic out of the deadlock and seeking to keep the regional conflict smouldering instead.

His statement says attempts to try to vest authority in the so-called peacemaking mission by Ruslan Khasbulatov or to resuscitate the former Supreme Soviet of Checheno-Ingushetia are no less perilous.

It says that despite continued rhetoric, none of the parties involved is able to defuse the military-political crisis in Chechnya.

Soslambekov called for a peaceful solution to the conflict. However, he said that nothing short of concerted effort by the constitutional bodies of Moscow and Groznyy including the former Chechen parliament dissolved by Dudayev in 1991 could help achieve just that.

Dudayev Forces Nearly Replenished

LD1610152795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1331 GMT 16 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Oct 16 (INTERFAX) — The illegal armed formations in Chechnya have practically completed the regrouping of their forces, an informed source in one of Russia's power ministries told INTERFAX Monday.

He said the Dudayev militants have replenished their reserves of weapons and food. They have restored control over the armed formations which are several thousand strong. "Under the cover of the talks, they are preparing for active combat operations all over Chechnya," said the source.

He expressed the opinion that "the Dudayev militants are likely to begin combat operations in late autumn, when the weather will worsen and air operations will become less effective."

He described as "farfetched" the reports about growing rifts in the Dudayev circles between those advocating the military and political settlement of the conflict. "The Dudayev supporters will not allow free democratic elections to be held in Chechnya," he said.

Chechen Nuclear Material Not Seen As Threat

LD1610152595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1459 GMT 16 Oct 95

[By Veronika Romanenkova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Oct 16 (ITAR-TASS) — Five containers of radioactive materials which, as Chechen field commander Shamil Basayev claims, his gunmen have consist most probably of sources of ionising radiation. These may be milligrams of radioactive agents with the radiation of several Curie

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at most, Georgiy Kaurov, chief of the public relations agency of the Russian Ministry of Atomic Energy, told ITAR-TASS on Monday.

Kaurov said it is difficult to assess the danger posed by these containers as their exact contents are not known. But most probably these are sources of ionising radiation manufactured in Russia in thousands every year and widely used in industry, agriculture, and medicine. For instance, cobalt-60 is used in medicine, cesium-137 is used for examining the quality of welding seams, strontium-90 is used in beacons in river and sea buoys.

However, it is impossible to carry out a large-scale terrorist action with their use, Kaurov believes. These agents can contaminate several dozens of square metres at most or do harm to the health of several people. In such cases the terrorists themselves will be subjected to the radiation hazards the most.

Commission To Be Moved Outside Groznyy

LD1710053295 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 0100 GMT 17 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The session of the Special Monitoring Commission in Chechnya is to be moved outside Groznyy. This decision was taken by the Territorial Administration of the federal bodies of executive power and the Command of the Joint Group of Federal Forces in Chechnya.

Dudayev Delegation's HQ To Relocate

LD1610165395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1632 GMT 16 Oct 95

[By Ruslan Maisigov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, October 16 (ITAR-TASS) — A place to accommodate the headquarters of the Dudayev delegation to the talks on a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Chechnya has not yet been decided upon but one can only say with confidence that it will be located outside Groznyy, Hungarian diplomat Sandor Meszaros, leader of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) mission in the Chechen capital, told journalists at a press conference here on Monday.

Meszaros commented on the outcome of Monday's meeting between representatives of the federal side and of Dzhokhar Dudayev, who discussed locations for the Dudayev delegation headquarters.

The OSCE mission leader who was present during the meeting, emphasised that on Monday the members of the Special Observer Commission, whose work was suspended following the October 6 assassination attempt against Lieutenant-General Anatoliy Romanov, were busy selecting a new place for the Dudayev mission accommodation, and sought to find a compromise version. The Hungarian diplomat voiced hope that after the matter is decided upon "the sides will go ahead with work to implement the military agreement."

Touching upon the reasons for which the Russian side insists on a transfer of the Dudayev delegation headquarters from Groznyy elsewhere, Meszaros said that a serious situation persists in Groznyy and that new provocations are likely. The Chechen side is also aware of that, the diplomat added.

Official Says Kalmyk Elections Against Law

LD1710055095 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0400 GMT 17 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Executive Secretary of the Central Electoral Commission Aleksandr Veshnyakov has described the law on the elections of the President of Kalmykia as not in keeping with federal legislation — to put it mildly.

He noted that the lack of an alternative candidate at the elections held on 15 October directly contravened Russian law. However, he said. Legislation does not come under the competence of the Central Electoral Commission. It is mainly the business of the bodies of power of the subjects of the federation, the Federal Center and finally the Constitutional Court.

The Central Electoral Commission did at the time draw the attention of the federal bodies of power to the fact that the rules of the game proposed by Elista were not in keeping with federal legislation.

Kalmyk President Supports 'Indivisible' Russia

LD1610193595

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow NTV in Russian at 1635 GMT on 16 October broadcasts the first "Hero of the Day" program, which lasts 20 minutes and features President of Kalmykia Kirsan Ilyumzhinov. Correspondent Leonid Parfenov begins the program by recalling the results of the presidential elections, which were held in Kalmykia yesterday [15 October], and some of the allegations made about Ilyumzhinov prior to the early presidential elections.

Interviewed in the studio, Ilyumzhinov confirms that 85 percent of the population of Kalmykia — which is more than 150,000 out of 196,000 potential voters — had voted for him. The correspondent recalls Ilyumzhinov's career, including his relations with Aleksandr Rutskoy back in 1993. Ilyumzhinov says that he has known Rutskoy for a long time, since their days together at the

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Russian Supreme Soviet, and confirmed that they once shared views, for example, on the danger of dictatorship in the close entourage of a leader.

Asked whether he really meant it when he said that Kalmykia would be prepared to give up its sovereignty, Ilyumzhinov says that he has always believed that "Russia should be a single and indivisible state. There should be just one president in Russia, a Russian president, one Constitution, and one citizenship. As for sovereignty, all this independence on paper and this declaration of sovereignty, they only lead to decay and corrosion in our society. This is my position."

The correspondent continues the program by providing information about Kalmykia, its history, its economy, the present situation there, and its relations with commercial structures and foreign investors. Asked by the correspondent why the Russian Central Bank had taken away the licence of Kalmykia's Steppe bank, Ilyumzhinov says that as far as he knows the Steppe bank still has its licence. He denies he had ever been in charge of the bank.

Ilyumzhinov also denies that economic crimes were flourishing in the republic. According to him, people there simply drink too much and commit all kinds of petty crimes because of that.

The correspondent continues by recalling Ilyumzhinov's policies soon after he became president. He says that Ilyumzhinov is very popular among the people of the republic, and it was even proposed that Ilyumzhinov should be made president for life. Ilyumzhinov insists that people should address him by his first name. He said that he is a firm monarchist. "I believe that during a transitional period, when one socioeconomic formation transforms into another, it is necessary to have a firm hand and discipline. Only then will we be able to achieve democracy," he said.

Ilyumzhinov tells the correspondent at the end of the program that in his view the Russian republics would be better off being part of Russia, and that he cannot imagine himself being the head of Kalmykia for the rest of his life because he "does not feel like a politician."

Udmurt Announces Tender for Oil Exploration Rights

LD1610163795 Moscow ECONOMIC NEWS AGENCY in Russian 1430 GMT 16 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The government of Udmurtia has announced a country-wide tender for oil exploration rights in the republic. The main condition of the tender is that the winner will have to provide a $250 million credit, which the government of Udmurtia intends to invest in the development of the automobile industry. All the paperwork for the drilling and development of 12 oil fields, to be carried out by the winner, has already been completed. The results of the tender will be announced next May.

Economic Issues

Delegation in Washington for IMF, World Bank Meeting

MK1710065795 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 10 Oct 95 p 2

[Report by Aleksandr Bekker from Washington: "New Loans and Rescheduling of Russia's Debt Are Dependent on the State of Its Economy and Budget. Mikhail Zadornov Insists on 3-5 Percent Inflation and Intends To Convince International Monetary Fund Leaders of That"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Right upon its arrival in Washington, the Russian delegation headed by Anatoliy Chubays immediately joined the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. On the same day, the problems of the Russian economy were discussed at the meeting of finance ministers and central bank chairmen of the Big Seven, attended by, in addition to Mr. Chubays, Vladimir Panskov, Tatyana Paramonova, and Yevgeniy Yasin.

Although the participants expect no breakthroughs to be achieved at the current meeting, it is of crucial importance for Russia. In a sense, the situation has taken a dramatic turn. The thing is that an extension of the stand-by [preceding word in English] credit line, half of which ($3.3 billion) Russia has exhausted, will be based on an IMF decision regarding fulfillment of the economic parameters set by the government and Central Bank memorandum of 10 March. Approval of the Russian authorities' policy by the IMF and completion of the reserve loan, in turn, imply almost automatically a compact with Russia on a new EFF [preceding abbreviation in English; extended fund facility] loan, which is handed out to countries past the first stage of financial stabilization. Approximately one-third of the $3 billion credit has been written into the 1996 draft budget; some 20 per cent of the budget deficit is to be financed with the EFF loan. Therefore, it would be problematic, as they say, to cover the budget without this loan. On the other hand, approval by the IMF of the three-year loan gives Russia access to the negotiations with the Paris Club on long-term rescheduling of the former USSR's debt.

Without the latter, the government will find it very difficult to develop a long-term outlook, to form a

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balance of payments and a balance of foreign trade. In short, all the elements of the loan and rescheduling problems being considered in Washington are links of one indissoluble chain, and have a direct bearing on the state of reforms in Russia.

Meanwhile, the State Duma and the Federation Council, having opposed the government's forecast of the country's socioeconomic development and the assumed average monthly inflation rate of 1.2 percent in particular, set their sights on killing the 1996 budget bill on its first reading. This being the case, the whole construction made by the government will go to pieces: No budget — no loans — no debt rescheduling, all this giving rise to a crisis of reforms and of the government. In this connection, the Russian delegation is awaiting with perceptible interest a talk between Mikhail Zadornov, State Duma Budget Committee chairman, who arrived in Washington on Sunday [8 October], with the head of the IMF East European Department. Mr. Zadornov, judging by his statements, intends to convince the IMF leaders that the budget figures forecasting inflation at 3-5 percent, and proposed by the Duma, more adequately reflect the state of the Russian economy.

The current state of the Russian economy is causing a certain anxiety among the Russian delegation. According to Deputy Economics Minister Sergey Vasilyev, Russia has for the first time deviated from the monetary program parameters outlined in the government and Central Bank memorandum of 10 March. As crucial a problem is at issue as the Central Bank's loans to the broadened [rasshirennoye] government, that is, the expenditures of the federal and regional authorities. By 1 October, this figure showed an excess growth of 300 billion rubles [R] unanticipated by Economics Ministry and Finance Ministry experts. Oleg Vyugin, head of the Finance Ministry Macroeconomics Department, attributes it to an increasing growth in the money supply and added expenditures by the federal and local authorities.

Of course, the extent of the deviation from the parameters is negligible and, as it is, can hardly bother either the government and Central Bank, or the International Monetary Fund. Tatyana Paramonova is prone to perceiving discovered deviations from the parameters as completely operational information [operativnyye svedeniye], a kind of "white noise." These approximately were the terms in which she explained to the IMF representatives what had happened, saying also that the information about the R300 billion needed additional verification and calculation. Mr. Vasilyev, however, does not consider it to be a chance outburst. He is troubled by the occurrence, as boding a hazardous tendency. He believes that the economy is on the verge of severe trials in the fourth quarter of the year. The deputy minister pointed out that some R1-2 trillion of the budget must be earmarked for the Pension Fund; some R1.5 trillion more must be allocated for army rations; and the government's guarantees are needed for a R3 trillion credit against grain purchases by the Federal Food Corporation. And finally, political pressure is weighing heavily on the government, urging it to finance the R3 trillion worth of spending on Chechnya. "The population must be aware that, owing to these expenditures, the budget and the economy could come to naught," Sergey Vasilyev warned.

Glazyev Attacks Underestimated Inflation Figures

LD1610174195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1621 GMT 16 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Oct 16 (INTERFAX) — The government's attempts to lower estimated inflation figures two or three times in the 1996 budget will lead to further real cuts in budget spending by 30-40% and "practically complete impoverishment of non-industrial workers," Sergey Glazyev, head of the State Duma Economic Policy Committee, said in a statement Monday.

According to Glazyev, the deliberate lowering of the expected inflation rate in 1995 led to a 150% decrease in real budget spending, while the real wages of state-owned enterprise workers fell over 30% — below the subsistence level.

The average monthly inflation rate is likely to reach at least 3%, and some experts put it at 5%, reads the statement.

Glazyev believes that to tackle inflation the government must impose control over prices for natural monopolists, intensify the fight against organized crime and cut spending on bureaucracy.

Fuel, Energy Sector Hopes To Halve Budget Debts

MK1710063495 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 14 Oct 95 p 2

[ANI report: "The Fuel and Energy Sector Hopes To Reduce Its Debt to the Budget by Half"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yevgeniy Lelenkov, head of the Financial Directorate of the Fuel and Energy Ministry, said at the ministry's collegium meeting yesterday that the debt of enterprises of the Russian fuel and energy sector to the federal budget is presently 11.5 trillion rubles. In his words, the main reason the debt remains so high is the ongoing nonpayments crisis. At the same time, the directorate head said that the ministry will propose measures to the government for a financial

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cleanup of the fuel and energy sector. "Using these measures, we hope to reduce our debt to the budget by half by the end of the year," Mr. Lelenkov said.

Duma Skeptical of Privatizing State Coal Company

MK1710073295 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 14 Oct 95 p 2

[Report by Svetlana Lolayeva: "'Rosugol' Requests To Be Privatized. The State Duma Is Hesitating"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yuriy Malyshev, director of the state-owned "Rosugol" company, reported to State Duma deputies yesterday on the state of things in the coal-mining sector. He did not agree with the allegation that the sector is on its last legs. Mr. Malyshev argued that "the coal industry has not frozen anyone" thus far. He said that the first results of the sector's restructuring, which is being conducted under a program adopted in 1993, are already to be seen. Within the last 18 months, 32 coal pits were closed and 40 more are scheduled to be shut down in 1996. However, for these moves to be implemented, funds must be earmarked in the 1996 budget at the rate of 60 billion rubles per coal pit, Mr. Malyshev noted. He was critical of those trying to use the social and political situation in the sector for political purposes, particularly when protesting against the closure of the mines. "A mine is similar to a man: Every mine has its own destiny and its own lifetime," Mr. Malyshev commented.

Yuriy Malyshev called on the State Duma to pass a decision on the revival of the sector's insurance fund, canceled by government decree; to lend federal status to the sector's restructuring program; to pose to the government the issue of increasing the amount of state support given to the sector; and to back "Rosugol's" privatization, which will allow for the restoration of the sector's controllability. Mr. Malyshev proposes a long-term agreement between the sector and the state. The state, to his mind, must support the sector until the sector gets back on its feet, so that it can operate on a self-supporting basis. Aside from the state, Mr. Malyshev claimed, "no one is going to invest one penny in coal, since they are not even willing to invest in oil."

The Duma passed by 238 votes a resolution instructing the government to pay debts owed to the sector and to include in the 1996 budget funds for the sector's development and restructuring. The Industry Committee has been tasked in the near future with submitting the law on the coal industry for a second reading in the Duma.

However, as Sergey Burkov, chairman of the Committee for Ownership, Privatization, and Economic Activity, said in an interview with your SEGODNYA correspondent, forcing passage of this law is inexpedient, as the law does not provide any guarantees to miners leaving enterprises to be vacated. Furthermore, Mr. Burkov voiced doubts as to "Rosugol's" privatization being the best solution for improving the administration of the sector. .

Minister Critical of 'Yukos' Shares-for-Credit Plans

MK1710073395 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 14 Oct 95 p 2

[Report by Nikolay Podlipskiy: "Yuriy Shafranik Stands Up for the State Property Committee"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday the fuel and energy minister, in a surprise move, came out against the intentions by some oil companies to "buy" themselves at the upcoming federal shares-as-collateral [aktsiy v zalog] placement tenders. This happened at a routine session of the ministry collegium, which considered the financial situation of fuel and energy complex enterprises. The object of criticism was the 'Yukos' joint-stock company.

It would be very unfair to accuse only oil companies of seeking to turn the government-proposed "shares for credits" deal to their own advantage: To some extent this is being done by virtually all enterprises included by the State Property Committee on a special list. However, the oil company case stands somewhat aside.

The fact is that they have a huge debt to budgets at all levels. The debts of 'Yukos,' for example, have grown from 1.6 trillion rubles to 4.3 trillion in the past two months. Company representatives say that this is the direct result of the so-called commodity credits practiced by the government: The fuel and energy complex delivers petroleum products on credit while the consumers — the agriculture sector and recently the power ministries — naturally make no payments. Whether this is really so is not quite clear: Yuriy Shafranik himself thinks this is only "80 percent" true. But in any event, any proposals by oil companies on transferring their shares under their own control look almost like a mockery of the government: To date the companies have been incessantly complaining about their financial problems (and their own statistics seem to corroborate that they do exist), but at the same time they are ready to undertake to retire the debt if their shares are transferred to them as collateral [polucheniya svoikh aktsiy v zalog].

In this respect, the 'Yukos' example is more than indicative: According to the fuel and energy minister, the financial situation of this company is the most difficult in the sector. Moreover, the worst hit by the crisis has

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been the "backbone" company of this concern, Yuganskneftegaz. Therefore, Shafranik opposed the plans of 'Yukos' to control its own shares in rather sharp terms: "Just think what this could lead to six months to a year from now, when it transpires that the federal block was given to a company that does not know how to run its own business effectively."

'Lobbies' Seen Behind State Shares Sale

MM1710083195 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 14 Oct 95 p 2

[Article by Academician Stanislav Shatalin, president of the "Reform" International Foundation: "Tasty Morsels of State Property Handed Over to Banks as Security"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The government decision made public by Anatoliy Chubays to hand over state blocks of shares in 29 privatized enterprises to the commercial banks as security causes the "Reform" Foundation serious concern. I am talking about key installations in the context of ensuring Russia's economic security, to wit major oil companies, metallurgical combines, seaports, and defense enterprises.

Lacking a well thought-out strategy in the sphere of investment and structural policy, the government is doggedly continuing to invent increasingly dubious instruments. Anatoliy Chubays assured us that this decision will make it possible to implement virtually in full the 1995 budget's planned revenue from privatization (which is on the verge of being totally thwarted), bringing the treasury an extra 3 trillion rubles [R]. We utterly fail to understand how such major decisions, which might have unpredictable long-term consequences for the Russian economy, can be adopted on the basis of a transitory need to "plug the gaps" in the budget.

We think that, although the desire to "pain" critics of the activity of the "father of Russian privatization" and demonstrate the government's determination to carry out its commitments, etc has played a major role here, particularly in the light of the ongoing election campaign, it was not however the only or possibly the main reason behind this decision.

What is happening is the permanent redivision of the country's national wealth accompanied by the fairly blatant distribution of the tastiest morsels of state property to corporate structures close to various lobbies within the government. We are now seeing more major activity of this kind. It follows from Anatoliy Chubays' statement that the main functions of controlling the blocks of shares that are being handed over as security will be transferred to the well-known banking consortium — primarily Oneksimbank — close to the Government. The vested interests at work in this decision are obvious from this alone, if nothing else.

What is more, a whole series of even more serious questions are arising.

In the current conditions, whereby the consequence of the recent banking crisis are still making themselves felt, it is hard to imagine Russian banks, even those closest to the government and most "official," finding a spare R3 trillion to give the government a loan in return for the security afforded by these blocks of shares. The requisite funds may quite possibly come from the same state purse and be handed over to the "beloved" banks. Needless to say, this is a very serious and so far unproven hypothesis, but if that is indeed the case it means that the plans effectively involve embezzlement of public funds and thus a criminal offense.

Nor did Mr. Chubays submit information regarding the size of the blocks of shares used as security or the specific mechanisms of the trust — which is also evidence of the secrecy surrounding this decision. What is more, the future of the securities is also vague: There is no guarantee of their being repaid to the state, if only because of the unpredictable nature of the financial situation in a year when the term of the security expires; thus it is quite possible that strategically important enterprises could end up in the hands of some hitherto unknown owners.

We think that the end — getting an additional R3 trillion in this year's budget — does not justify the means, which pose a real threat to Russia's economy in the future and may only enrich elite bank structures.

Instead of trying to get a R3-trillion loan to the obvious detriment of the country's national economy, the government should take a more careful look at the overinflated stabilization fund of its beloved progeny "Gazprom." Owing to the concessions granted to this powerful corporation experts estimate that the budget will suffer a far more significant shortfall this year of $3 billion. But the government's decisions have long been adopted less on the basis of economic advisability than in accordance with the real strength of the lobbies which form it and the financial structures and interests of specific individuals behind them.

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Special Tax Arrears Teams Formed

MM1610133695 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Oct 95 p 1

[Report by Mikhail Berger: "The Rich Will Weep? Power Structures Join Struggle for Payment of Taxes Into Budget"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Next week special teams consisting of representatives of the General Prosecutor's Office, the MVD [Internal Affairs Ministry], Federal Security Service, State Tax Service, and Tax Police should be sent out to those who have found themselves on the list of persistent tax evaders.

INTERFAX was told by Oleg Gaydanov, temporary acting general prosecutor, that the federal power structures have agreed to conduct joint operations in October-November to check on the reasons for the arrears.

The first group for "seizing money" for the budget should set off for Tyumen (there are, naturally, other addresses on the list as well). The total sum of taxpayers' arrears to the federal budget is expressed in an astronomical figure — 28 trillion rubles [R].

To all appearances the war for budget revenue declared by Anatoliy Chubays in early October is moving from the preparatory stage to the stage of combat operations.

Not so long ago (late this summer) the government with the aid of the federal administration for insolvency cases reached a curious conclusion. A large part of the debts to the state (R11 trillion) is owed by just 46 enterprises. And 26 of these companies are among the theoretically not so poor sectors like the fuel and energy complex (that is why Tyumen is the first destination), 13 are rail transport enterprises, and four are automobile building enterprises. At least it would not occur to those familiar with prices for oil, Zhiguli automobiles, or rail freight shipments that the producers of these commodities and services, expensive because provided by monopolies or simply expensive, could not pay the taxes due to the budget.

Nonetheless the "Nizhnevartovskneftegaz" company alone owes the budget R1.138 trillion, Yuganskneftegaz owes R842 billion, and AvtoVAZ owes R684 billion. The list of super-debtors also includes the Gorkiy Automobile Plant, the Ulyanovsk Automobile Plant, the Novolipetsk metallurgical combine, the Norilsk mining and metallurgical combine, and others.

It should be said that a large proportion of the budget arrears have been caused by the government's own unreasonable decision which gave enterprises the right to reserve part of their revenue to pay wages. As a result the entire burden of enterprises' nonpayments to each other has resulted in arrears to the budget. Of the R28 trillion in tax arrears to the budget R20 come under the "wages heading."

The decree repealing the "reserving" of money for wages has already been paid and is merely awaiting the president's signature. But it will be hard for him to append this signature — for political reasons. Touching the system of reserving money for wages on the eve of the elections — what would that do?!

As Mstislav Afanasyev, executive secretary of the government commission for the improvement of the payments and settlements system, has noted, not all debtors are evading taxes deliberately. Often this happens because of elementary bungling and ineptitude on the part of enterprises' financial services. Of course there are also those who pretend they do not understand since it is very much to their advantage not to understand. The special teams should deal with all this.

There is no denying that taxes must be collected and as fully as possible. The participation of the power structures in the struggle against violators of tax legislation also looks entirely logical. I merely want to note that the collection of taxes is a constant, painstaking process and the dispatch of special teams smacks of some kind of dire emergency and short-term campaigning. But in any case the appearance of a tax inspector armed not only with the law but also with an assault rifle (or escorted by a submachine gunner and a prosecutor) should indeed drastically increase budget revenue. Unless, of course, the super-debtors, taking advantage of their economic clout, again ask for some special concession.

Goskomstat Chief Says Economy Has Bottomed Out

MK1710073195 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 11 Oct 95 p 3

[Report by Boris Boyko: "The Goskomstat Chairman Does Not Like Econometric Forecasts"]

[FBIS Translated Text] While in the course of the election campaign the government's opponents continuously criticize its economic policy, the State Statistics Committee [Goskomstat] has made public its own point of view on the results of Russia's development. Speaking at a press conference yesterday, Goskomstat Chairman Yuriy Yurkov presented figures on Russia's socioeconomic development in the nine months of 1995. Predictably, the Goskomstat point of view was not devoid of optimism.

According to Goskomstat estimates, the macroeconomic situation in the country is relatively favorable, with one exception: Constantly falling living standards, according

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to Yurkov, "compel a certain line of reasoning." The Goskomstat chairman did not hide the essence of this reasoning: He cited the government's tight financial policy as one reason for shrinking monetary incomes. According to Goskomstat, nominal monetary incomes received by the population in January-September have grown by 182 percent compared to the same period last year. But actual monetary incomes have fallen by 12 percent. Accrued wages rose by 8 percent compared to August and by 123 percent compared to last September, but this September their actual size, calculated on the basis of the consumer price index, was 71 percent of that of last September and 104 percent of that of this August. As a result, internal demand shrank, which led to a fall in domestic trade by 10 percent compared to last September.

As for the main macroeconomic indicators, according to the figures presented, the most growth has been recorded (as has become traditional) in exports and imports: 131 percent and 116 percent as compared to January-September of last year, respectively. GDP and industrial production volume in the nine months were 97 percent of the same time last year. However, the fact that last year the analogous indicator was merely 77 percent and that in September production volume was the same as last September gives every reason to believe that, according to official statistics, the country's economy is entering a phase if not of an upswing then at least of the long-awaited depression. [sentence as published]

Given that opponents are liable to question the validity of Goskomstat statistics (in which they are supported by representatives of academic institutes), the question of reliability was given close attention at the press conference. Responding to suggestions of a possible social demand for upbeat statistics, the Goskomstat chairman (who, incidentally, has the rank of minister) stated with thinly veiled resentment that the opponents apparently do not know that Goskomstat changed its calculation methodology a long time ago and, in particular, takes the "shadow economy" into account in all its data. According to Yurkov, work to improve the methodology has been going on since 1991, and the progress made has been recognized in particular by the IMF and the World Bank. Thus, whereas GDP figures for 1992 and 1993 had to be heavily corrected following comments by international financial organizations, 1994 figures were immediately recognized as reliable. Another proof that the estimates are valid sounded if not quite convincing, then at least quite weighty: "Everyone can count, but Goskomstat is the sole service in the country that has a diversified information network." In other words, none of its opponents are in a position to build their assessment of the country's socioeconomic trends on such an extensive statistical basis — which, however, does not mean that quantity is synonymous with quality.

As it transpired in the course of the press conference, the Goskomstat chairman attaches key importance to current [operativnoy] information. "No econometric methods of forecasting can be effective in the context of economic instability," Yurkov said, adding that "when they say 'It seems so' or 'This points to a certain pattern,' I do not believe this." In conclusion, Yurkov described all disputes about tenth and hundredth percentage points as unprofessional, stating his readiness to disclose the methodology of the calculations. True, his negative attitude to macroeconomic forecasts did not stop Yurkov from making a prediction. The Goskomstat chairman said that soon there will be a consumer boom in Russia, but for this to happen the South European level needs to be reached first.

It needs to be noted that this "soon" could turn out to be rather long, considering that Russia first has to reach at least the level of East European countries. Moreover, the most economically advanced of these states — Slovenia — which is also the most prepared to enter the European Union, on an absolute majority of socioeconomic indicators lags considerably behind the poorest South European country: Portugal.

Diamond Producers, De Beers Call Off Price War

MM1710090695 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA ("Business Tuesday" Section) in Russian 17 Oct 95 p 2

[Report by Vladimir Okhotskiy: "De Beers Enters Into Peaceful Settlement"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yakutsk — De Beers has called off the "price war" with the "Diamonds of Russia-Sakha" Company. This company has been experiencing major financial difficulties since the De Beers multinational asked Russians to lower their price for small diamonds by 10-15 percent while at the same time raising the prices of large stones by 3-8 percent. "Sparks" represent virtually one-half of all Russian exports, and adopting the new price list would have meant the loss of about $50 million in hard-currency income. The diamond people were reluctant to take that step, and sales of rough diamonds to the De Beers central marketing organization stopped.

The leadership of the "Diamonds of Russia-Sakha" Company, primarily its new president, V. Shtyrov, held a series of talks with representatives of the multinational at which De Beers was sternly asked to change its approach to Russian precious stones. As a result a compromise was reached, the details of which are not as

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yet being divulged, and in September sales of diamonds for export resumed. An increase in demand for stones from national cutting enterprises, which are already beginning to present serious competition for De Beers, has also had a favorable effect on the state of affairs. It is quite possible that these considerations affected the latter's decision to call off the "price war" with Russian producers of rough diamonds.

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International Affairs

Udovenko: NATO Enlargement Causing 'Some Concern'

AU1310203395 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 9 Oct 95 p 9

[Interview with Foreign Minister Hennadiy Udovenko by Michal Mocek in Warsaw; date not given: "Ukraine Declares Itself To Be a Country Between Blocs"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw — Ukraine, according to the Kiev government's foreign minister, Hennadiy Udovenko, is a country outside of blocs and does not want to become a buffer state between NATO and Russia. Minister Udovenko granted MLADA FRONTA DNES an interview prior to Josef Zieleniec's visit to Ukraine, which began today.

[Mocek] The Central European Initiative (CEI) has just decided to admit Ukraine into its ranks. What does Central Europe mean to you?

[Udovenko] Ukraine, as a European state, would like to integrate with European structures. Therefore, we have turned to a number of European organizations with proposals for cooperation. We are actively developing cooperation with the European Union and we would like to become a member of it one day. The Central European Initiative is also the object of our aspirations and a manifestation of our endeavor to integrate into European structures.

[Mocek] In what way will Ukraine contribute to cooperation in Central Europe?

[Udovenko] By its knowledge in the sphere of telecommunications or in the conquest of space, for instance. In engineering, for example, we may consider a joint enterprise with the Czechs in car manufacturing.

[Mocek] On Friday [6 October], Ukrainian newspapers published your letter to President Kuchma, in which you assess negatively the document signed in mid September by President Yeltsin that asks for the preservation of Russian dominance on the territory of the former Soviet Union. At the same time, you demand that Ukraine's economic independence be guaranteed. What does this demand mean?

[Udovenko] First of all, I would like to express my profound regret that this letter was published at all. It is, in principle, an internal document that was not intended for publication. Ukraine's economic security means that the country should implement speedily the reforms suggested by President Kuchma. This involves the transition from a centrally planned economy to a market economy. During President Kuchma's visit to Prague, he was very taken by the successes that you have achieved in transforming the economy. At Friday's meeting, the prime ministers of our countries discussed expanding mutual economic cooperation. They also talked about using the experience that you have acquired in privatization, especially with regard to large enterprises. This is still proceeding slowly in our country. Therefore, the experiences of CEI members in particular are very important for us.

[Mocek] The Central European countries are trying to join NATO. Do you consider this to be a threat for Ukraine or for Russia?

[Udovenko] I would like to emphasize that Ukraine and the North Atlantic Alliance are cooperating with one another. Ukraine is striving for integrated security for everyone. We are definitely opposed to the building of a new Berlin Wall. This alarms us most of all. However, we also proceed from the premise that no one has the right to veto the admission of another country into the Alliance. This is a matter for each country and NATO. Its enlargement, however, is causing some concern in our country. This is because Ukraine, which is — and I emphasize this — a country outside of blocs, may become a buffer state between an enlarged Alliance and the countries of the Tashkent treaty on collective security. We proceed from the premise that, in enlarging the Alliance, it is also necessary to take into consideration Ukraine's national security interests. We understand Russia's concerns and we would like there to be mutual understanding between NATO and Russia.

[Mocek] Russia is talking about establishing a kind of anti- NATO. Would Ukraine also be part of this?

[Udovenko] I have already said that Ukraine is a country outside of blocs.

[Mocek] Your neighbor Belarus favors a policy of the closest possible rapprochement with Russia. Are you considering a similar policy?

[Udovenko] Belarus, as a sovereign state, has the right to elect its form of cooperation with other states and to pursue its own course. This is a matter for Belarus, not us. We govern ourselves by the interests of the sovereign independent Ukraine. Russia is, however, a strategic partner for us and, therefore, normalizing and improving relations with Moscow is a priority of Ukraine's foreign policy.

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Udovenko Praises Atmosphere at Russian-Ukrainian Talks

LD1610193295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1754 GMT 16 Oct 95

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV, Oct 16 (Interfax - Ukraine) — Ukraine will not insist on signing an overall political treaty with Russia during Russian President Boris Yeltsin's visit to Kiev. The signing could also take place at a CIS summit, Ukrainian Foreign Minister Hennadiy Udovenko said in Kiev following talks with his Russian counterpart Andrey Kozyrev in Moscow on October 13.

According to Udovenko, Ukraine wants the treaty to be signed as soon as possible and is quite flexible on that issue.

Udovenko said that the Moscow talks had 36 bilateral and international items on their agenda. "There were no sensations, but a good atmosphere has been created for future talks," he said.

Russia wants two agreements, on the parameters of the Black Sea Fleet division and the status of the Russian Black Sea Fleet, to be signed, he said.

"Ukraine believes, however, that these documents should be signed together with two others, one covering the specific sites where the Russian fleet will be stationed in Sevastopol and the other, the related financial matters," Udovenko explained.

He said that an understanding was reached about the start of Russian-Ukrainian border delimitation and demarcation. Udovenko said that Russia does not see any political reason not to start this work. He added that this activity will be costly.

Udovenko said that a joint bilateral commission will visit the border areas.

The status of the Sea of Azov was also discussed in Moscow. Udovenko did not expect any differences over that issue.

He said that the Yugoslav crisis was also discussed, in particular, whether NATO should be allowed to take over the whole of the post-war reconstruction in Bosnia.

Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Nikolay Afanasyevskiy will arrive in Kiev for more detailed consultations on this issue, Udovenko said.

He believed that Ukraine's participation in the NATO peace making mission in Bosnia was in doubt.

"First of all, we have not been officially invited. Furthermore, finances are in short supply," he explained. Udovenko emphasized, however, that Ukraine would not like to phase out its involvement in the Balkan settlement.

Udovenko: Bosnian Peacekeeping 'Problematical'

LD1610155595 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1400 GMT 16 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Minister Hennadiy Udovenko considers Ukrainian participation in the NATO peacekeeping operation in Bosnia to be problematical. No-one has officially invited us there yet, he noted in an interview with journalists after returning from Moscow. According to him, the second problem is the issue of financing Ukrainian peacekeepers' participation in the operation. Unfortunately, it is a problem for us from the financial point of view now to send even one journalist there, Hennadiy Udovenko observed. However, the minister emphasized that Ukraine would not want to suspend its participation in the Balkan settlement.

Kuchma Against CIS Military Bloc at Present

LD1610191395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1757 GMT 16 Oct 95

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: compiled by Nikolay Zherebtsov, Andrey Petrovskiy, and edited by Vladimir Shishlin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma believes that having a military bloc of CIS member countries would be undesirable now.

"Today I can see no global threat of aggression that would warrant the setting up of a CIS military bloc," he said in an interview with Zerkalo nedeli (The Week's Mirror) published Saturday. "True, there are local trouble spots in various parts of the Commonwealth but local threats should be dealt with by local agreements."

Kuchma emphasized that Ukraine is constitutionally a neutral country staying outside blocs. He argued that blocs are set up when a serious confrontation is there but this is not the case with Ukraine.

Kuchma said that he will accept the resignation of Prosecutor General Vladislav Datsyuk. According to Kuchma, he had received 14 applications from regional prosecutor's offices suggesting that he nominate Grigoryy Vorsinov, Dnepropetrovsk region's prosecutor, to replace Datsyuk.

Kuchma said that he cannot ignore the opinion of regional prosecutors. He added that he would not like to appoint a Kiev resident to that position. According to Kuchma, it is easier for a new man to start working

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anew. IF Note: Parliament expressed no- confidence in Datsyuk at the end of June. Nevertheless, Kuchma confirmed Datsyuk's appointment. Parliament voted for Datsyuk's resignation again and suggested to Kuchma that he dismiss Datsyuk.

Kiev Honors Commitments Under START Treaty

LD1610194895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1851 GMT 16 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV, Oct 16 (Interfax - Ukraine) — Ukraine is honoring all its commitments under the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, said U.S. experts who visited Ukraine from October 9-11.

Oleksander Kluban, a spokesman for the Ukrainian Defense Ministry, said at a briefing Monday that the experts visited Pervomaysk, Nikolayev region, where strategic nuclear rockets are stationed.

The treaty, known as START, was signed by the USSR and the U.S. in July 1991. The Ukrainian parliament ratified START-1 on November 18, 1993. Under the treaty Ukraine will dismantle missiles and move the warheads to Russia. A total of 46 SS-24 and 30 SS-19 rockets have to be dismantled.

The U.S., Ukrainian and Russian presidents signed in Moscow on January 14 a package of documents on removal of nuclear weapons from Ukraine. Nearly 40 percent of its nuclear arsenal has been removed from Ukraine. In exchange, Russia supplies Ukraine with nuclear fuel for power stations.

Rukh Opposes Curtailment of Radio Liberty Broadcasts

WS1610130495 Kiev INTELNEWS in English 0020 GMT 15 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Mykolayiv, Oct. 14 — The U.S. Senate decision to curtail Radio Liberty broadcasts was called "short sighted" by the People's Rukh Mykolayiv oblast organization on Saturday [14 October].

"In yesterday's blackness of the former Muscovite-Bolshevik Ukraine, the transmissions of Radio Liberty were like a beacon lighting the way. Radio Liberty did not confine itself to information about current events in the world. It provided a series of programs dealing with Ukraine's history narrated by prominent scholars, discussed analytical issues and aired information that was banned by the official mass media. Ukraine, to a great extent, credits its independence to Radio Liberty," the organization said.

Rukh said it supports the actions of all those who oppose reduction of Radio Liberty programs, calling such opposition wise and far-sighted. The organization said "that Ukraine's destiny and hence the world's destiny, including that of the United States, may greatly depend on the destiny of Radio Liberty."

National Affairs

Cabinet Official Views Government Program

AU1610174795 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 10 Oct 95 p 3

[Interview with Valeriy Pavlovych Pustovoytenko, minister of the Cabinet of Ministers, by Volodymyr Ilchenko; place and date not given: "The Government Must Become One Team"]

[FBIS Translated Text] **The Cabinet of Ministers' program is, primarily, a responsibility that the government has assumed for the state's socioeconomic situation in the near future. It is clear that Ukraine's tomorrow will depend upon how government structures organize their work. This organization of the government's work in the context of the program was the topic of our correspondent's conversation with Valeriy Pustovoytenko, minister of the Cabinet of Ministers.**

[Ilchenko] Valeriy Pavlovych, the government program will obviously demand that most effective levers of management and influence on economic processes be sought. There is probably great responsibility with the Cabinet of Ministers apparatus....

[Pustovoytenko] Improving the work of the Cabinet of Ministers and of the executive bodies in general is a major issue of the government's program. By approving the program, the Supreme Council will enable the government to work in a stable manner for a year and a half and to see prospects. The fulfillment of this program is just the first step. The drafting of the program for the future will become the government's next step. If the program is not approved, the government will certainly have to resign. Some people mock: We have a provisional government. This is, in fact, true. People need stability if they are to work normally.

[Ilchenko] The program is probably conceptual in character. Might it later be amended, corrected, and further specified?

[Pustovoytenko] Yes, it is the Cabinet of Ministers' ideological document, which will make it possible to draft branch programs and also conduct the economic reforms that people and enterprises are awaiting. It is a complex of programs that must be tackled by executive bodies of power.

The Cabinet of Ministers is facing an extremely important task: On the one hand, control over drafting all

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of the government's legislative acts, decrees, and directives, as well as presidential edicts that will aim at implementing the Cabinet of Ministers' program and, on the other hand, control over their fulfillment. The apparatus today has to deal with a huge workload. The people work until very late in the evening and often during their holidays. The work is very intensive.

[Ilchenko] What control mechanism is envisaged over the fulfillment of the government decisions and its individual commissions?

[Pustovoytenko] A simple one. The main point is that the people who work on a particular problem will be responsible for it. The Cabinet of Ministers divisions, ministries, and departments are in charge of their specific spheres of activity. A special audit department has been created to monitor the implementation of documents accepted by the Cabinet of Ministers. This is also reflected in the program.

Apart from this, to enable professional control, we are creating an analytical service within the apparatus to analyze decrees, so that there is a possibility to see what is going on in the provinces and take coordinated decisions.

Yet another aspect of the problem is the enlistment of the services of professional state officials, who will be able to work at the Cabinet of Ministers, the ministries, and the departments. You know that, for this, the Academy of State Administration has been created, subordinated to the Ukrainian president. We must create a ramified system of recruitment, identify, so to speak, the best people in all branches who work in the local authorities, the ministries, and the departments, and train them for work at the Cabinet of Ministers.

[Ilchenko] To judge from everything, the government program is a collective document. To what extent are various views and positions reflected in it?

[Pustovoytenko] To begin with, the working group for drafting the program was created collectively. At first, the structure of the program was developed; it was also coordinated collectively and then every chapter of it was drafted collectively. Many people, including people's deputies, took part in the work. Not a single sentence was concealed. That is why this is a truly collective and jointly drafted program.

[Ilchenko] The program was still being worked on, but some people were already speaking about it in a somewhat tense manner. Why is that so?

[Pustovoytenko] There exists tension in our society. Social problems are put forward first and then the work of the enterprises. Even though these are two sides of the same problem: If the enterprises work, the social problems will also be solved. We are working on this.

It is clear that people have low pensions and scholarships and that the consumer market is not what we would like it to be. Incidentally, a series of decrees were recently issued on this matter. URYADOVYY KURYER published them. The Supreme Council must pass two legislative acts in addition to those decrees. At the same time, there are different people working in parliament. The program may not be to everybody's liking. Besides, people's deputies have introduced many pertinent suggestions that must be taken into account.

[Ilchenko] Over several recent months, the organizational structure of the Cabinet of Ministers has been subject to certain changes. Has an optimal variant for this structure been found?

[Pustovoytenko] The organizational structure of the Cabinet of Ministers apparatus has not been completely formed. Even though very many changes have occurred. The Duties of vice premiers have been specified.

We have enlarged some ministries and given them more powers. For example, the Ministry of Industry is now also in charge of light and wood-processing industries. Some departments, such as the Derzhsadvynprom [State Gardening and Wine Producing Industry] have been highlighted. This industry may earn much capital for Ukraine. Many offers to purchase Ukrainian fruit juice and wines are coming to us from Russian regions.

[Ilchenko] How do the structures of the Cabinet of Ministers cooperate with the presidential administration services?

[Pustovoytenko] The structures of the administration mainly work as presidential analytic services, providing the necessary information for the president and conducting routine and expert analyses of some legislative acts. We also closely cooperate with Supreme Council services and the corresponding structures must cooperate even closer on drafting legislative bills.

[Ilchenko] The executive power hierarchy is being restored in the state. Are there any changes for the better in the control over the regions?

[Pustovoytenko] This is a very difficult matter. The striving for independence can be seen at all levels, primarily at the level of oblasts, towns, and rayons. Everybody wants to get hold of as many powers as possible. There are many problems with this in Luhansk, Vinnytsya, and other oblasts. It is necessary to specify distinctly by legislation who is in change of what. By a Ukrainian presidential directive, a commission has been created to study the situation in the Luhansk and

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Vinnytsya Oblasts. Everybody must remember the need to work not only for himself, but also for other people.

The creation of the vertical executive power structure is in progress. The majority of oblast administrations have had their leaderships appointed. I believe that this vertical structure will soon start functioning.

[Ilchenko] What are the organizational characteristics of preparing the draft state budget for 1996?

[Pustovoytenko] The budget is short of funds. This is the main problem. We often know how to proceed, but do not have the necessary money. We do not have a possibility to grant enterprises the necessary funds to boost their work. We cannot provide social assistance for the low-income strata of the population. Apart from this, there exist many benefits; not all of them need to be canceled, but they need to be revised in any case.

[Ilchenko] It was decided by a presidential edict and by a corresponding government decree to create a state treasury. When will it materialize?

[Pustovoytenko] In the near future, I think.

[Ilchenko] In the past, you headed the Association of Industrial Town Council Chairmen. Are you still in touch with it?

[Pustovoytenko] Chairmen of town councils seldom socialize, although they should do so more often. At present, hardly a day goes by without some mayor of a town arriving to see me.

[Ilchenko] Valeriy Ivanovych, the final appointments to the Cabinet of Ministers have, in fact, been made, and one can already see what kind of team it is that is just starting to function as a well coordinated mechanism. What is your impression of the complete new composition of the government?

[Pustovoytenko] I would like to see it efficient and undivided, so that all working problems could be solved before they are addressed at Cabinet of Ministers' meetings. There still exist many differences between ministries and departments, primarily owing to financial problems.

I would like us to be a single team, so that no secret games are played. If a decision is made by the government presidium or by the Cabinet of Ministers, it must be obeyed by all, even by those who were categorically against it.

The fulfillment of the government program will depend not only upon the president, prime minister, and every state official, but also upon every citizen. For this, people must, of course, know well what the government is working on.

Six Left-Wing Parties Form Salvation Association

LD1610135395 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1000 GMT 16 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — Representatives of left-wing parties and movements held an assembly on 14 October to set up the "All-Ukrainian Association of Progressive Forces for Ukraine's Salvation." The association's objective is to coordinate joint actions throughout Ukraine, Vasyl Arestov, member of the association's coordinating council told UNIAN on 16 October.

The new association includes the Communist Party of Ukraine, the Socialist Party of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Peasants' Party, the All-Ukrainian Union of Workers, the Union of Working Women, and the all-Ukrainian society "Prometey" [Prometheus]. The association's coordinating council has been elected. It will coordinate nomination of one or two left-wing candidates at the future election of deputies to the Supreme Council of Ukraine.

Economic Issues

Kuchma Wants More Competitive Ukrainian Products

LD1610194195 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1845 GMT 16 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev region — Ukraine should look after the domestic production of beet combines, Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma said during his working tour of Kiev region on 16 October. At the same time he said that it was not worth turning down the opportunity to use equipment from foreign companies. Kuchma stressed that the Cabinet of Ministers had until the end of this year "to decide which path Ukrainian machine-building should take."

The head of the Ukrainian state noted that foreign technology was required if products of the machine-building sector were to become competitive because Ukrainian output did not conform with the requirements of time.

Touching on the issue of the cost price of sugar, which in the words of the president, amounts to between $400 and $430 per tonne, Kuchma said: "We should be thinking about reducing it, in particular at the expense of attracting up-to-date technology."

SBU Deputy Chief on Reclaiming Hard Currency

WS1710094495 Kiev VSEUKRAINSKIYE VEDOMOSTI in Russian 10 Oct 95 p 9

[Interview with Major General Anatoliy Belyayev, deputy chief of the Ukrainian Security Service, by

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Larysa Kozyk; place and date not given: "Money in the Morning, Chairs in the Evening" — first paragraph is VSEUKRAINSKIYE VEDOMOSTI introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] **The well-known entrepreneurs from the Ilf and Petrov book ["Twelve Chairs"] lived according to the following law — money in the morning, chairs in the evening. The first businessmen of the independent Ukrainian state, however, decided to act in just the opposite way. As a result, millions of dollars, marks, rubles, and other currency units have been deposited in foreign banks. UKRINFORM correspondent Larysa Kozyk discusses how one can return them, in accordance with the Ukrainian Presidential Edict "On Urgent Measures for Returning to Ukraine Hard Currency Assets Illegally Remaining Outside Its Borders," with the deputy chief of the Ukrainian Security Service [SBU], Major General Anatoliy Belyayev.**

[Kozyk] Anatoliy Mykhaylovych, have you previously had an opportunity to deal with returning hard currency from abroad to our state, or is this a completely new phenomenon?

[Belyayev] I supervise a subdivision charged with ensuring economic security which detects mechanisms for committing various violations of the law, as well as channels through which damage to the state is caused. At the same time, I am deputy chief of the "K" Directorate for Combating Corruption and Organized Crime. These subdivisions are not new within the SBU; they were set up as a result of reorganization and on the basis of similar subdivisions. The current times are different, however, and life is more complicated. At that time there were only state and cooperative property and corresponding systems of state administration. There are currently many new, imperfect things. Ministries and departments request our help. We have to work until late in the evening, constantly studying and learning something new. This requires a great deal of knowledge, and there is little time. For example, an over-100-page document has been sent; it has to be analyzed within 24 hours, and conclusions have to be made. How many documents have our inexperienced businessmen signed with foreign companies without experts' advise? As a result of mistakes, swindles, and other illegal actions, the state's wealth has partially been sent outside its borders.

[Kozyk] Is it known what damage the state has suffered in the form of unreturned hard currency?

[Belyayev] Unfortunately, our service, the Statistics Directorate, the Interior Ministry, and customs services of the United States, Germany, and other countries have presented different figures. We have not yet managed to coordinate them, because of different sources of detecting hard currency and other reasons. Our service has not yet uncovered everything that has not been returned. People abroad are interested in keeping Ukrainian money and putting it into circulation. Nevertheless, their special services are helping us, though reluctantly, and not as we would like them to do. It is no secret that banking crimes are currently holding the lead. We have managed to reveal how millions of U.S. dollars leaked abroad through... computer networks.

[Kozyk] Which branches have distinguished themselves with their lack of knowledge in trading with the West?

[Belyayev] We traced an ongoing tendency of increased outflows of hard currency resources — which came from sales of highly liquid Ukrainian products [sentence as published]. So, the total sum of debts to companies had amounted to $118 million as of the beginning of this year. As a result of measures undertaken with the participation of the SBU, as of 1 July this sum had already been reduced to $70 million. The examination of this issue has shown that companies have not received money for metal shipped to suspicious brokers, and that nobody took an interest in their operations and material security. For example, such foreign companies as United Intertrade Ltd. (Lebanon), EZZ Foreign Trade (Egypt), Solmak (Hungary), and Sunlit Trading Co. (United States) owe Krivorozhstal metallurgical combine $20 million.

[Kozyk] What mistakes does our side commit most often while signing contracts?

[Belyayev] In addition to the fact that our businessmen blindly trust representatives of foreign companies without verifying who is who while concluding contracts, they lose the feeling of dignity, do not know world prices, and underestimate prices for their products. Plus, there are attempts to smuggle goods, and the money coming from their sales is not returned to Ukraine. For example, our exports of cattle conducted according to barter deals through various nonstate brokers are very unprofitable. For example, the Austrian company Poyya Velding [name as transliterated] purchased livestock for $530 per tonne in farms from Ternopil, Chernihiv, Kirovohrad, Odessa, and Ivano-Frankivsk Oblasts (given the indicative price of $700), and delivered petroleum, oil, and, lubricants for $260 per tonne, given the indicative price of $160-$165. According to experts' estimates, Ukraine has lost nearly $10 million, merely as a result of sales of cattle on similar conditions through foreign brokers and the fact that barter deals were not balanced. We are also losing due to other tricks by busi-

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nessmen, though it is possible to unmask these loopholes, as well.

[Kozyk] If it is no secret, could you provide more details, to teach others not to cheat?

[Belyayev] Let us take, for example, one of the most popular of consumer commodities — cigarettes. The Ministry of Statistics has established that 77 billion cigarettes are consumed in our state [annually], and domestic plants produced 47 billion last year. The rest, which is basically of high quality, were imported from the United States and Europe. According to experts' estimates, the value of the imported cigarettes was over $300 million, for which $450 million should have been paid to the budget, taking into account the excise tax. Yet, as little as an equivalent of $120 million was paid. Why did this happen?

According to State Customs Committee's data, cigarettes totalling $41 million were imported in 1994, which was almost eight times less than the real value established by the experts. For example, the Duncan-Kiev joint venture estimated a pack of cigarettes to cost 6 cents according to relevant documents [as published], at the same time as the production cost was 17 cents, and the retail price — 25-30 cents. The excise tax was collected based on the declared price, and Ukraine thus suffered losses. The practice of attributing goods to various funds, which are completely exempt from certain taxes, has become widespread. For example, after levying fines totalling 97 billion karbovantsi [K] on the Great Bear company, it was illegally dissolved. Still, it continued to import large amounts of cigarettes, conducting customs documentation through... the Fund for Supporting Development of Ukrainian Arts. At the same time, the earnings coming from the sale of the cigarettes were deposited in foreign banks.

[Kozyk] Is it possible to sentence anyone for similar crimes?

[Belyayev] Based on SBU's materials on illegal activities and committed crimes, 156 criminal cases have been instituted and 102 people have been arrested this year alone. During this period, 53 people have already been sentenced; the assets seized and fines collected, totalling K450 billion and $200,000 respectively, have been returned to the state. Based on SBU's report, the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations have levied fines on 11 foreign firms. We have handed over materials on operations of 71 foreign businessmen who owe us $141 million. Their operations will be examined, and appropriate measures will be taken. Based on SBU's materials, dozens of domestic economic entities have been prohibited from conducting foreign economic operations.

[Kozyk] Is the legislative basis efficient enough to perform such an important state task?

[Belyayev] Representatives of all power structures are certainly complaining about imperfect laws. For example, we are officially called the Directorate for Combating Organized Crime, and there is still no judicial definition of "organized crime." Although our specialists drafted documents essential for restoring order in the state over a year ago, the Supreme Council has not yet passed them. The experience of operations and investigations conducted by SBU's "K" Directorate confirms that a deputy's seat is often used to avoid criminal responsibility or conceal one's indecent deeds. So, it comes as no surprise that the laws have not been passed for such a long period of time.

Deputy Prime Minister Discusses Agriculture

WS1610144095 Kiev INTELNEWS in English 0022 GMT 16 Oct 95

[Interview with Petro Sabluk, Deputy Prime Minister for the Agro-Industrial Complex, by Andriy Yevtushenko; place and date not given; first two paragraphs are INTELNEWS introduction — from the "Economic Review" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The government assigned up to KBV [karbovantsi] 17 trillion to cover a state contract to buy 900,000 tons of grain for storage. Petro Sabluk reported that farmers harvested 40 million tons of grains and leguminous plants, excluding corn, this year.

The state planned to purchase 10 million tons of grain from agricultural producers under state contracts; 5.5 million tons of it is to be directed for government-supported consumers and the other 4.5 million tons goes to the foods fund. Sabluk stressed that in order to increase regional foods fund amounts, the purchase will be conducted at the expense of local budgets. The money for this purpose will come from enterprises, commercial companies and banks.

[Yevtushenko] Currently you are the highest official in the agricultural complex. When will Ukrainian farmers live richer lives?

[Sabluk] Farmers can take care of the cows and milk them but further milk processing — cooling, separation, packaging, transportation and even sales of dairy products — are desperately outdated. This prevents us not only from exporting but even from providing domestic consumers.

The conclusion is as follows: unless we subordinate the structure of the economy to the interests of producers, we will be eternally poor. The future belongs to

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closed-cycle processing complexes giving direct output. If Ukraine cannot currently produce efficient technology lines, they should be purchased abroad. Such an approach is valid not only for animal farming but also for sugar and alcohol production, wool processing, etc.

[Yevtushenko] How important is land reform in reforms process?

[Sabluk] We chose the market way for economic development and it is impossible without land relationships. Land value is an important means here. We are shifting to world prices and these are formed with land prices. The share of land value in the produce price has to be calculated. So, the task was to appraise the land and, more specifically, agriculturally employed land. This work is about to be completed.

According to primary estimates, the average hectare (one hundredth of the square kilometer) value is US$ 4,000. So, according to the value, it has to be divided into shares and farmers have to decide — to stay on the collective farm or to separate and work on their own without messing up the form of possession and the mode of farming. We have to organize the work properly so it would be obvious who's work is worth what. For instance, corporations are a good example of effective work.

[Yevtushenko] And how do you treat news about agriculture enterprises bankruptcy, state-owned farms among them?

[Sabluk] In general, I treat bankruptcy as an economic category quite positively. Though every definite occasion should be approached weighting with the pros and cons. When a new owner appears as a result of some enterprise's failure — that is good. But if the process is being influenced by objective factors, such as, for example, unsatisfactory financial supplying, we must not treat them all alike. Within some definite conditions we can proclaim all agriculture to be bankrupt.

The most important constituent part of modern agriculture politics must be broadening and deepening the privatization processes. Every possible help should be given to developing agriculture economies. Special subsidiary farms have great possibilities yet the possibilities of collective farms and state- owned farms are far from being exhausted.

[Yevtushenko] With support of the Committee on Agriculture-Industrial Complex reformation problems, headed by yourself, the concept of the Agriculture-Industrial Complex was considered by the Prime Council. But on this problem parliamentarian opinions split.

[Sabluk] This fact only proved my belief that the Prime Council must consist of professionals who have to create wise laws based on objective knowledge. That's why the first place among documents that we lack I should give to the law on price creation. And only after that we can talk of adopting the Taxation Code and not on the contrary.

When discussing the Conception on Agriculture-Industrial Complex reformation, opinions as to the prices split. An equal income for an equal capital — there were not us who invited that. Equal starting conditions are necessary for both financial, trading and industrial capital. Some people object that it is not a market approach because I suggest the prices-setting up regimentation and within market conditions it must be released.

Sorry, but any released prices becomes spontaneous and every spontaneity is a grief, especially when entering a market economy. We must simply say to people that there is, for example, so much capital and we get, for example, 10 percent income. But everybody has to use this income primarily.

[Yevtushenko] On one hand, Ukrainians' purchasing capacity must be considered and on the other the country must not lack the means for recreating production. This contradiction is restrained by the state at the expense of subsidizing, prices and income support.

[Sabluk] It is necessary for the means to go straight from the economy and for the economies themselves to set up the service superstructure's behavior. And not the way it used to be earlier when the means were shared and controlled first by the regional administration then by the district. Thus, they just do not get to the provinces. These are provincial industrial workers who have to decide what authorities are supposed to be delegated and by whom and who is supposed to cover these or some other expenses.

[Yevtushenko] Anxious announcements come from the provinces that there is not enough money for harvesting. And worse, the state has not got enough money to purchase crops.

[Sabluk] This year we can avoid troubles of the harvest appearing poorer than the pervious year. However, there is a succession of reasons that will probably prevent us from reaping the quantity of grain we expected. The drought in many regions influenced the completeness of crops. The lack of mineral fertilizers and insufficient cultivating with the protecting means influenced grain quality. Much wheat that we gather is not even of the third but the fifth rate.

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Grain storage is the following. The state gave a financial advance of 50 percent of the state contract for grain purchasing; 50 percent more we have to buy from peasants for those prices, which will set up for the period of sale.

Here we have to take into account transporting expenses, too, to compensate farmers for grain transporting from the threshing floors to the grain-elevators. I think the state must purchase the grain for depositories for the exchange price that was set up. We would like to arrange sales with the help of some broker offices, delegation offices for setting up an exchange price. This is in the making. The main thing is to mobilize forces and to fasten this process. We must also find money and purchase the grain to prevent it from running away to the foreign market.

[Yevtushenko] The world authority of Ukraine is, first of all, the authority of a country that used to be the whole-European granary and that even nowadays Ukraine occupies the worthy place in agriculture sphere works sharing.

[Sabluk] It is known that Ukraine obtains credits from the World Bank. I am unsatisfied with the bureaucratic approach to credit allocation but more with the approach if its using. This money is received as a rule in the end of a quarter, when the whole succession of urgent problems has been accumulated, and again there are only the rests for the agriculture needs, i.e. almost nothing. I am not satisfied with my own work either. First we have to learn the way the sources appropriated for agriculture are "inflated."

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Belarus

Deputy Foreign Minister on Ties With Russia

WS1710094795 Minsk VO SLAVU RODINY in Russian 12 Oct 95 pp 1,2

[Interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Valeryy Tsapkala, by INTERFAX correspondent Vyachaslaw Zyankovich; place and date not given: "Belarus Is Capable of Integrating With Russia According to the Scenario Presented in the 'Strategic Course'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Zyankovich] Russian President Boris Yeltsin issued an edict approving the "Strategic Course of Russia Toward CIS Member States." What do you think about that document?

[Tsapkala] Of course, I have a positive opinion about it, and I support the desire of the Russian leadership to find ways leading to integration of the former Soviet republics and close cooperation among them.

They did a right thing in Russia adopting this strategic course by a presidential edict. Thus, the course now has the power of a strategic document and its implementation is mandatory for all Russian ministries and institutions.

It is a pretty important nuance for Belarus because this document contains a provision on fulfilling mutual cooperation commitments, eliminating indebtedness caused by the supply of goods, and normalizing payment and credit relations.

Recently, our president met with Boris Yeltsin in Sochi, where he discussed the progress of implementing the first stage of the customs union. It was deemed unsatisfactory largely because the problem of mutual debts. For example, by order from the Russian military-industrial complex, Belarusian enterprises produced nearly 140 billion Russian rubles worth of goods, of which one-third was shipped to consumers. The consumers, however, failed to pay for the goods that they had ordered. On the other hand, Belarus runs a considerable debt to Russia for energy sources.

If you view the "Strategic Course" as a normative act, which says that the Russian Government assumes responsibility for settling accounts even with nonstate companies, you can expect that the problem of nonpaymets will be eliminated.

[Zyankovich] According to the "Strategic Course," Russia is going to "encourage intentions of the states that signed the collective security agreement to unite into a defensive union based on common interests and military and political goals." How do you understand this provision of the document?

[Tsapkala] Before the "Strategic Course" was approved, one had a strange impression that Russia had no interest whatsoever in a strategic union with Belarus, as this would burden it with certain financial and military obligations. Consequently, Belarus should be more interested in such a union than Russia. At present, however, Russia has begun to talk about encouraging the [CIS] countries's plans to unite into a defensive union.

But it is still not clear how this will happen. During negotiations with Russian leaders, I often heard that "Gazprom," "Lukoil," and other raw-material providers are no longer state-run, but private companies. Therefore, all talks concerning deliveries and payments should be conducted directly with the management of those companies. Thus, the Russian leadership indirectly admitted that it has no economic levers to encourage the states to participate in the collective security treaty. One can assume that by adopting the "Strategic Course," Russia is going back to some of the foreign policy traditions of the Soviet Union.

Hypothetically, if Russia introduced a clearing system of payments covering 20 percent of its trade with Belarus, as was the case with Finland and the Soviet Union some time ago, this could be regarded as an incentive on the part of Russia. In this case, debts of Russian clients to the Belarusian military-industrial complex could be offset by Belarus' gas indebtedness.

[Zyankovich] To what extent can Belarus cooperate with Russia in the military sphere, given the fact the Declaration of Independence, which has the force of a constitutional law, proclaimed the course toward achieving state neutrality?

[Tsapkala] According to the "Strategic Course," cooperation in the military sphere must be conducted as part of the collective security treaty. As is known, Belarus is a signatory to this treaty.

I would like to recall that when discussing Belarusian participation in the CIS security treaty, advocates of the Tashkent Treaty tried to incline the parliament to vote "yes," explaining it by "economic necessity." In other words, they hoped that Russia will support Belarusian moves to join the treaty. However, Russia had a different concept at that time...

Now, the Russian policy welcoming all those who want to forge a defensive union is regarded by Belarus as a novelty that the Russian Government is obligated to implement.

[Zyankovich] The document contains quite a few chapters the contents of which can be explained in different

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ways. "While developing relations with our CIS partners, it is important that we firmly proceed from the principle that Russian interests cannot be damaged..."

[Tsapkala] Indeed, on the one hand, it is clear that the "Strategic Course" is a Russian document; so, it is only logical that it puts major emphasis primarily on Russian interests. But on the other hand, the "course" directly concerns the interests of other CIS members, and the phrase that Russian interests cannot be damaged, as if to underly some special role of this country in CIS activities, inadvertently lessens the role of other states.

In addition, it is unclear how such "damages" will be assessed and what this word means in the first place. For example, will the price that Russia will have to pay for the military-political union also be considered a damage? Some time ago, some Russian politicians estimated that unification of our currency systems will cost Russia $1 billion. Is it a damage to Russia, or not? From the financial point of view, it appears to be a damage, although this point may raise doubts, too. But from the strategic point of view, it is a benefit. Two years ago, Russia considered creation of a Russian-Belarusian currency union as damaging its national interests.

Next: "While interacting with third countries and international organizations, [Russia needs] to make sure that they understand that this region (CIS) is first of all in the Russian zone of interests." Please note that no one says here that the Central Eurasian territory, part of which Russia itself is, is the zone of interests of all CIS states!

The "Strategic Course" does not include any Russian commitments toward CIS countries, it only spells out the strategy of Russia's domestic policies. It would be normal if this document were intended for internal use by Russian ministries and institutions. In that case, it could contain as much Russian snobbism as possible. But when a document is intended for other states and openly published by the mass media, it should be more genteel in nature, in my opinion.

Let me recall that one of the main reasons for the collapse of the Soviet Union was an attempt to single out Russia as some special republic standing above all union republics. There was a lot of talk at that time about Russia's sovereignty, and that it supposedly feeds all other republics... Elevation of Russia's role in the USSR prompted Belarus, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, and other republics to break away from the single union. As a result, the disintegration hurt everyone, both the Russian Federation and the rest of the Soviet entities.

In my opinion, the "Strategic Course" failed to take this historical experience into consideration. There is another chapter in that document that proves this. Let me cite it: "The strengthening of Russia as a leading force in developing a new system of interstate political and economic relations on former Soviet Union territory." As we can see from the text, they are not talking about equal cooperation, although even in Soviet times, the single state was seen as a union of equal republics.

If we seek to develop centrally-oriented tendencies within the CIS, one could ask a legitimate question: Based on what will the rapprochement be sustained? The "Strategic Course" fails to answer this question.

[Zyankovich] Do you think that integration can be conducted consistently and without conflicts based on the "Strategic Course?"

[Tsapkala] As a matter of fact, Belarus is capable of integrating based on this scenario. As for other countries that have different approaches toward integration than Belarus, the model presented in the "Strategic Course" can serve as a factor pushing them away from Russia.

To illustrate this case, let me cite a historical example of how such delicate interstate issues should be resolved. Some time ago, Moscow Patriarch Nikon conducted church reform in Russia, introducing the Byzantine version of the Orthodox belief that was popular in Ukraine and Serbia (one of its distinctive features is a requirement to cross oneself with three instead of two fingers). This move was intended to strengthen ideologically the incorporation of Ukraine into Russia which was occuring at that time.

Archpriest Abbakum stood up against the Russian Orthodox Church, giving up its canons. He believed that it was the Ukrainian population that had to refuse the Byzantine rite and accept the Moscow version.

From the point of view of narrow Moscow nationalism, Abbakum was right. From whom, he asked, should Russia borrow canons? From Ukrainians, who were under Polish oppression for a long time? Or Serbs oppressed by Turkey? Abbakum believed that Ukrainian and Serb orthodoxy is, for various reasons, defective, while the Russian Orthodox Church is genuine and pure. Understanding that implementation of Abbakum's views can elicit anti-Russian sentiments in Ukraine. Nikon enforced his own reform of the Russian Orthodox Church, thus attaching ideologically Ukraine to Russia.

In this case, the patriarch displayed wisdom and prescience, rejecting selfish admiration of, no doubt, a great and powerful state, which Russia continues to be. History proved that he was right.

Let me repeat it once again: Belarus is capable of integrating with Russia according to the scenario presented

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in the "Strategic Course." But only Belarus, not Ukraine, or some other CIS country. This is because our country has a special attitude toward the CIS and special policy toward Russia.

The "Strategic Course" points to the need to "restore Russia's position as the main educational center on former Soviet territory, instilling the spirit of friendly attitude toward Russia in young generations of CIS states." No country belonging to the European Union would venture such a phrase. Such declarations should never be made.

The proximity of CIS nations is a source of a lot more powerful potential for integration than the one that has so far been legally defined. It is realistic that integration processes can actively get under way in CIS countries. The main condition making this possible is the fact that as various peoples lived together over the centuries, they developed a common — a surprising thing for such ethnic diversity — psychological pattern of behavior. This is a much more significant fact than the relatively different level of economic development or education. It is even more than closeness of cultures. Here, they talk about popularity of politicians living in the CIS, whereas French or German politicians are regarded as something given, without emotional attitudes.

Generally speaking, one should admit that the former Soviet population now lives in different countries only from the legal point of view. In reality, however, we all live in the same country. It seems to me that the future developments on post-Soviet territory will be shaped not by international law, but by geopolitical interests or, speaking more precisely, instincts, which are stronger than the will of politicians or human laws.

Hryb on Consequences of Political Conflicts

LD1610190095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1747 GMT 16 Oct 95

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: compiled by Nikolay Zherebtsov, Andrey Petrovskiy, and edited by Vladimir Shishlin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Presidential Bulletin is launching Prognosis, a new section dedicated to the analysis of possible variants of development of political conflicts. Political analysts close to CIS and Baltic countries' leaders will share their views on these issues. In this edition Belarussian Parliament Speaker Mechyslaw Hryb speaks about possible consequences of the present confrontation between parliament and the Constitutional Court on the one hand and between parliament and President Aleyaksndr Lukashenka on the other.

Hryb told Interfax that the conflict between parliament and the president had been resolved by the Constitutional Court which on Wednesday confirmed the powers of the old Supreme Soviet (parliament).

The speaker believes that the Court's verdict will "ease tensions between parliament and the head of state." The former conflicting parties must work together for the good of the country until the new round of parliamentary elections scheduled for November 29 is held, said Hryb. IF Note: The conflict was based on the contradiction between Article 81 of the Constitution that sets a five-year term for the Supreme Soviet, Article 91 that prolongs its powers until the first plenary session of the next parliament and the fact that the results of the May parliamentary elections were officially declared null and void because of the low voter turnout. The term of the present parliament elected in 1990 expired last May. Lukashenka considers the old parliament to be illegitimate and does not approve laws it passes.

Hryb said that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet decided not to open the parliament's plenary session until the president orders Prime Minister Mikhail Chyhir and Finance Minister Pavel Dzik to report to parliament on the implementation of the budget and of the state program of urgent anti-crisis economic measures. The presidium has already sent Lukashenka an address on the issue.

According to the speaker, the constitutionality of the president's decrees appointing former Chief of Staff Leonid Sinitsyn and former Presidential Control Service Head Vasiliy Dogolev deputy prime ministers and approving First Deputy Defense Minister Lieutenant General Leonid Maltsev as defense minister remains the only unresolved issue between parliament and the president. Hryb said that, under the Belarusian Constitution, the candidacies for such posts nominated by the president must be approved by parliament. According to the speaker, he intends to file a request on the issue to the Constitutional Court Monday.

Hryb also said that a request on the constitutionality of Vasiliy Kapitan's appointment as prosecutor general has already been filed to the Constitutional Court. According to the speaker, Belarusian prosecutor general must be approved by parliament.

Members of the presidential team believe that the conflict between the president and parliament can only be settled through the election of a new Supreme Soviet.

In that case the contradictions will resolve themselves, Ivan Lemeshevskiy, head of the group of advisers to the prime minister, told Interfax.

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Speaking in public after the Constitutional Court confirmed the parliament's powers, Lukashenka said that for him the old Supreme Soviet "ceased to exist long ago."

Observers in Minsk expect the conflict between Lukashenka and the legislative branch to become more bitter. Speaking to an Interfax correspondent, Sergey Naumchik, parliamentary opposition coordinator from the Belarusian Popular Front (BNF), said that the president may strengthen his power by postponing parliamentary elections.

Naumchik believes that Lukashenka "is interested in further demoralization of the old Supreme Soviet and in the absence of quorum should parliament decide to hold a plenary session." He does not rule out the possibility that if the old parliament decides to hold its session in late October it may raise the issue of impeaching the president using Lukashenka's failure to comply with Article 104 of the Constitution as a pretext. The article says that after the Constitutional Court rules that the president violated the Constitution or a special commission concludes that he perpetrated a crime the president is suspended until the Supreme Soviet passes a resolution on the issue.

Since the Constitutional Court confirmed the old parliament's full powers on October 11, which is contrary to what the president said on the issue, Lukashenka must be suspended and parliament must decide whether he can remain head of state, said Naumchik.

He believes there is another possible scenario of future developments. Repeatedly stressing the need to hold parliamentary elections under old electoral regulations (which say that a candidate is elected if over 50 percent of those who have the right to vote cast their ballots for him — IF Note), the president may nevertheless agree to holding the elections under the new rules recently approved by parliament, which say that a candidate is considered elected if he is voted for by 25 percent of all potential voters.

"After that the president will declare the parliament illegitimate because one part of it was elected under old regulations while the other — under new ones," said Naumchik. He is confident that "Lukashenka does not want to work either with the old Supreme Soviet or with the new one."

"In any case the principal goal of the new parliament must consist in abolishing the presidency and calling extraordinary elections based on party lists," says Naumchik. He believes that there is a threat that in post-Communist states the presidential rule may develop into dictatorship.

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Tajikistan

Government Accuses Rebels of Aggravating Situation

LD1610210595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2049 GMT 16 Oct 95

[By Galina Gridneva]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] DUSHANBE, October 16 (Itar-Tass) — The Tajik authorities have accused opposition militants of aggravating the military and political situation in the Tavildarinsk area, where forty-eight servicemen were taken hostage by an opposition group on October 14.

The press service of the Tajik president said that leaders of military units of the opposition have been deployed near the positions of government forces, "provocating servicemen to combat activities." Thus, they violated an agreement reached between the Tajik government and the opposition.

The government and military authorities of Tajikistan through mediation by the U.N. military observer mission tried to settle the conflict and remove tension, the press service said. But they failed.

On October 14, A. Manturov, commander of one of the government detachments deployed in the Tavildarinski area, forced to hold talks with field commanders of one of the opposition groups. But the rebels, in violation of the earlier reached agreement, took him hostage, and then forced him to call his subordinates. Thus, the opposition is currently holding 48 military personnel hostages.

Rebels Claim 54 Government Troops Captured

LD1710092295 (Clandestine) Voice of Free Tajikistan in Tajik 0600 GMT 17 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] After 54 government soldiers and officers were taken prisoner by Tajik opposition forces in Tavildara, the Dushanbe regime's security agencies said they will carry out a widescale operation to release the captives. It is known that these military servicemen were taken prisoner last Saturday.

According to a report from our correspondent in the area, the military servicemen were surrounded by mujaheddin and were taken prisoner while the regime was carrying out military operations.

Our correspondent, quoting to a source close to opposition leaders, says that the state forces, consisting of the Vose, Tekhnikum, and Isfara detachments, totalling more than 200 men, launched treacherous attacks on the opposition's position in violation of the Tehran cease-fire agreements, using tanks and heavy guns [words indistinct] but they could not withstand the resistance and ran away.

The 54 prisoners consist mainly of soldiers from the Isfara Battalion, led by Captain Nikolay Nikolayevich Aleksandrov, and two men from the Tekhnikum detachment. According to reports, the operation was led by Colonel (Aleksandr Nikolayevich Kim).

The reports indicate that the assault was launched a day after state planes bombed three localities in Tavildara. It should be said that many houses were destroyed and two or three people were injured as a result of this attack.

The opposition detachment of commander (Mirzo Giyoh) participated in the operations against the state forces.

Antiregime Journalist Detained in Moscow

LD1710103595 (Clandestine) Voice of Free Tajikistan in Tajik 0600 GMT 17 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Another Tajik journalist, Mirzo Salimpur, a correspondent of the CHAROGHI RUZ weekly, was taken prisoner by Russian law-enforcement agents on 13 October. Mirzo Salimpur will possibly be sent to Dushanbe for interrogation.

In May this year Mirzo Salimpur was detained by armed men of the [Tajik] regime at the bazaar in Gissar district and spent some time in secret prisons. Following the efforts of UN representatives, the international organization for the protection of journalists' rights, and the opposition delegation in the joint cease-fire observance commission, he was released and took refuge in Moscow. However, he did not escape persecution and pressure in Moscow. Not only he but many journalists and educated people, as well as ordinary Tajik refugees, are subject to persecution and pressure in Moscow and other Russian cities.

Turkmenistan

Turkmen-Iranian Pipeline Project Officially Launched

LD1610171995 Ashgabat Radio Ashkhabad Network in Russian 1330 GMT 16 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The beginning of the construction of the Turkmenistan-Iran-Turkey-Europe transcontinental gas pipeline, which is being described by specialists as the project of the century, is among the most important news. Ceremonies have been held at the recently-opened rich Korpedzhe gas deposit. The heads of the Ministry of Oil and Gas of Turkmenistan and

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the Balkannebitgazsenagat [Balkan Oil and Gas Industry] group, and representatives of the Ministry of Oil and Gas of the Islamic Republic of Iran participated in them. This is more evidence of the successful implementation of the open doors policy and the concept of the development of Turkmenistan's oil and gas sector, which was drafted under the direct guidance of President Niyazov.

Republic's Oil, Gas Export Policy Eyed

MM1710093595 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Oct 95 pp 9-10

[Article by Aleksey Chichkin: "No Money? Pay in Moorings. Turkmenistan Prefers Economic Facilities to Debt Payments"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Few CIS countries can currently "boast" a fuel surplus. And few are able to boast they can provide unlimited exports. The latter group includes not only Russia and Azerbaijan, but also Turkmenistan. This republic has colossal oil and gas resources and, under a number of international projects, could become one of the world's largest oil and gas exporters after the year 2000.

Many CIS republics depend on Turkmen fuel and energy shipments — Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Tajikistan, and, partly, Uzbekistan. Between 1992 and the first half of 1995 those countries' debts to Ashgabat for oil and gas deliveries exceeded $1 billion (in current prices). And, according to official Turkmen sources, debts for gas supplied run to $860 million. According to Turkmen Government experts' assessments, the CIS countries' total fuel and energy debts to Ashgabat will come to at least $1.3 billion by the start of 1996. And the nonpayments for gas will reach almost $1.1 billion.

Unlike Russia, which often shuts off the "energy faucets" to debtors, Turkmenistan is following a different, long-term strategy of recovering debts through specific economic installations. And it is not a question of agricultural land or tracts of forest — Ashgabat prefers seaports and other types of communications. For the time being....

Ukraine's debts for deliveries of Turkmen gas were in excess of $300 million by mid-September 1995. At the start of the year its leadership stated that it would not be able to repay those debts on time. But back in 1994 Turkmenistan leased several moorings in Mykolayiv, to which have been added this year similar facilities in the port of Kherson. According to figures from Turkmen sources, as of 1996 Ashgabat will be entitled to lease a number of port terminals in Mariupol as well.... The condition for terminating the lease is the complete repayment of the money owed by the debtor country for oil and gas supplied and delivered.

Another example is Georgia, which owed Ashgabat almost $450 million for the same commodities. That republic's government is looking at the possibility of leasing Turkmenistan certain terminals at the ports of Poti or Batumi.

Armenia, which does not have any major port complexes, is paying off Ashgabat in gold, platinum, and jewelry (its "fuel and energy debt" to Turkmenistan stands at $200 million). In short, the Turkmen leadership differentiates between debtor-countries by geography and their resource and communications potential.

Turkmen President Saparmurad Niyazov has repeatedly stated that "his" republic is prepared to go halfway toward meeting its neighbors and other republics needing oil and gas, not least on the questions of prices and the timing of payments for shipments. But Turkmenistan cannot afford the luxury of ignoring debts. "The economy and trade," Niyazov said, "can only exist on the basis of responsibility. We cannot suffer as a result of the irresponsibility of others...."

It was that question that was at the center of attention at September's tripartite talks in Ashgabat under the "two plus one" formula." The ministers of the Turkmen, Ukrainian, and Iranian foreign policy departments agreed that Ukraine would supply rails to Iran as part of its foreign currency payment for deliveries of Turkmen gas this year worth $10 [figure indistinct] million. Iran for its part will carry out work worth an equivalent sum on building the Ashgabat-Gekdele [name as transliterated] Highway. The question of organizing and paying for shipments of Turkmen petroleum products to Tajikistan was also looked at. Ashgabat has stated its readiness to resume deliveries of these products provided that oil is delivered, not least from Iran, to the Chardzhou Refinery. A Turkmen-Iranian-Tajik commission will be set up to prepare relevant trade and economic cooperation projects.

OPEC and International Energy Agency experts believe that by continuing to supply oil and gas to debtor-countries Ashgabat is pursuing two main aims — first, to overtake Russia in terms both of the scale of its exports of energy resources to the near abroad and the size of the debts owed by the importer- countries (this is made much easier by the fact that the Russian Federation, Turkmen Government circles believe, intends to cut oil and gas deliveries to the CIS countries while increasing them to the far abroad), and, second, to obtain in lieu of the unrepaid debt direct access to East and West Europe with the help of the leased seaports, many of which are linked by oil and gas pipelines to Turkmenistan.

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According to figures from the Iranian Oil and Gas Institute (August 1995), Turkmen shipments of oil and gas are now providing increasingly stiff competition for Russia in the CIS. And, as a result of the further decline in the level of oil and gas exports from the Russian Federation to the near abroad, Turkmenistan will become the main supplier of these commodities to the former USSR republics.

Turkmenistan's share of gas shipments to Armenia and Georgia as a proportion of their total gas imports currently exceeds 60 percent, and comes to around 40 percent of Ukrainian gas imports. By 1997 this indicator, according to preliminary estimates by Turkmen Government experts, will have increased to 75 and 50 percent respectively. Indirect factors promoting Ashgabat's dominance of the gas market in the aforesaid countries are the political conflicts and friction between Russia and Ukraine (over Crimea, the Black Sea Fleet, the Azov Sea shelf, and so forth), and Georgia (Abkhazia and Tbilisi's desire to "attract" to Georgian ports and oil refineries the export transit of oil from Azerbaijan's Caspian shelf).

Kiev and Tbilisi have no interest in increasing their dependence on Moscow. And the aims and interests of Turkmenistan strike many CIS republics as more acceptable. All the more so as in early September 1995 S. Niyazov stated: "Turkmenistan wishes to be a purely neutral state and has petitioned the United Nations to that effect." This contains a demand for international recognition of such a status for the republic. So far not a single CIS country has done anything similar.

But Turkmen gas could be a "Trojan horse" within Russia as well — many plants and population centers in the southern Urals and the Volga area use, just as they did in "Soviet" times, Turkmen gas supplied by pipelines via Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. But Russian consumers are delaying their payments. According to official figures from Ashgabat, the Russian Federation's debts for gas supplies from Turkmenistan between 1991 and the first half of 1995 exceed $100 million and are continuing to grow.

For the time being Ashgabat is not calling for the leasing of Russian ports and other communications facilities. But, given the repeated statements by Turkmen officials about the need to recover "energy" debts in the shape of metallurgical enterprises, machine-building and instrument-making enterprises, and so forth, the leasing of "economic real estate" in Russia by Turkmenistan could become a reality in the next few years.

Foreign experts are negative about Ashgabat's "energy geopolitics." Thus, according to a statement by Aleksandr Gummikh [name as transliterated], Deutsche Bank's representative in Kiev, "the restructuring of the Ukrainian economy will be impossible without a fundamental reevaluation of CIS — primarily Russian and Turkmen — policy in the sphere of the fuel and energy complex.... Otherwise Ukraine will spend its increasing level of foreign loans on paying for its fuel and energy shipments." That is probably a situation in which not only Ukraine but a number of Russian regions find themselves today....

Niyazov Discusses Gas Issues With Foreign Companies

LD1610170795 Ashgabat Radio Ashgabat Network in Russian 1300 GMT 16 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Our head of state [Turkmen President Saparmurad Niyazov] received Jimmy Ails, the leader of the American oil and gas company Unocal [Union Oil Co. of California], and Babra al-Alman, the head of the Delta company, at his country residence yesterday [15 October].

Aspects of the construction of the Turkmenistan-Afghanistan gas pipeline, the capacity of which will be 20 billion cubic meters of natural gas annually, were discussed during the course of the meeting. The heads of the companies, having noted the importance of this international project, informed the Turkmen president that Unocal and Delta are aiming at long-term cooperation both in the development of gas deposits and in [word indistinct] of natural gas.

Businessmen from various countries of the world are showing interest in the project for a gas pipeline leading to Pakistan. Its implementation — according to the preliminary estimates of experts of the Unocal company — will need $10-$12 billion.

Saparmurad Turkmenbashy informed the heads of the companies that the construction of the Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan gas pipeline will be considered during his visit to the United States. [passage omitted]

President Niyazov Signs Agreement With Boeing

LD1310165095 Ashgabat TURKMEN PRESS in Russian 1015 GMT 13 Oct 95

["Boeing Broadens its Cooperation with Turkmenistan" — TURKMEN PRESS headline]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Ashgabat, 12 Oct (TURKMEN PRESS) — President Saparmurad Turkmenbashy Niyazov of Turkmenistan today received Philip Kondit, the head of the famous Boeing aircraft company. Turkmenistan is the first state among the CIS countries that the president of this major company is visiting.

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Boeing aircraft have represented the national air company of Turkmenistan in a fitting manner since 1992, Saparmurad Turkmenbashy said during the conversation. Over the past three years its pool has been supplemented by four Boeings, which are now servicing international air routes. [passage omitted]

During the meeting Saparmurad Turkmenbashy and Philip Kondit signed a memorandum of mutual understanding, which defines the areas of long-term cooperation between Turkmenistan and the Boeing company. According to the document, it is planned to set up a regional center in Turkmenistan for technical servicing of Boeing aircraft. The famous manufacturer of popular aircraft is undertaking to train highly qualified specialists for these purposes.

The memorandum envisages that two Boeing-757-200 aircraft will soon supplement Turkmenistan's aircraft pool. This airliner contains 35 business class seats and 156 in economy class. The flight range of aircraft of this model is 6,600 kilometers. As was noted during the meeting, the new airliners will service direct flights to London and the United States with one stopover.

At the end of the meeting, Saparmurad Turkmenbashy expressed thanks to the president of the Boeing corporation for his aspiration to develop long-term cooperation with Turkmenistan.

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Azerbaijan

Draft Constitution Presented For Public Debate

NC1610181995 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1300 GMT 16 Oct 95

[Azerbaijan Constitutional Commission's decision on submitting the new draft constitution of Azerbaijan for public debate]

[FBIS Translated Text] In view of the proposals submitted during the discussion of the draft constitution at its session on 14 October, the commission preparing the new constitution of Azerbaijan hereby decides:

1. To endorse the new draft constitution of Azerbaijan and to publish it in the press on 15 October for public debate.

2. To advise the Azerbaijani National Assembly, state organs, scientific and educational institutions, political parties, and public associations to earnestly discuss the draft constitution and submit their proposals, amendments, and addenda to the Constitutional Commission.

3. To ask the working group of the Constitutional Commission to assiduously analyze all the incoming proposals and addenda, and to rework and improve the draft further in light of common elements found in the proposals and addenda; and submit the improved version for discussion by Constitutional Commission by 30 October 1995.

4. The Commission preparing the new constitution of Azerbaijan should discuss the final version of the draft constitution and publish it in the press ten days before the referendum on 12 November 1995.

[Signed] Geydar Aliyev, President of Azerbaijan and chairman of the Constitutional Commission.
[Dated] 14 October, Baku.

New Draft Constitution Outlined

NC1610184295 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1300 GMT 16 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The draft constitution of Azerbaijan, published in the 15 October issue of AZERBAYCAN, includes five parts, 13 sections, and 199 articles.

The draft begins with the following words, which express the real value of the basic law: The people are the sole source of state sovereignty in Azerbaijan.

A presidential administration system is envisaged in the new constitution for Azerbaijan, which is described as a democratic, secular, and unitary republic. The Azerbaijani president is called upon to safeguard Azerbaijan's independence and territorial integrity, guarantee adherence to international agreements and conventions, and ensure the independence of the judiciary. Such historic responsibility as the commander-in-chief of the armed forces also falls on the head of state. The council of ministers is described as the high executive organ of the president.

The document confers the legislative duty to a 125-seat five-year-term National Assembly [Milli Mejlis], the executive authority to the president elected for five years by a general and direct vote, and the judicial authority to the courts in Azerbaijan. The new constitution also indicates in detail the jurisdictions of the Constitutional Court, whose nine judges are appointed by the Milli Mejlis at the proposal of the Azerbaijani president.

The draft constitution also sanctions each citizen's freedom, inviolability of property, right to work, rest, and vote, social security, and freedom of religious believes.

It points out that the Azerbaijan language [Azerbaycan Dili] is the state language.

The constitution formalizes the independent republic's flag, emblem, and anthem.

The draft also indicates in detail the basic duties of the citizens: Loyalty to the country, respect toward state symbols, and defense of the country.

The draft also notes the ways to amend the constitution if the need for it arises.

Five days have been recognized for public discussion of the draft. Proposals should be submitted to the Constitutional Commission by dialing 926847 and 983304.

The news program will also allocate time to air views on the draft.

Georgia

Shevardnadze on Oil Deal, Economy, Politics

LD1610140795 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0650 GMT 16 Oct 95

[Regular weekly interview with Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian Supreme Council and head of state, by Nato Oniani — live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Oniani] Good morning. We present to you a radio interview with Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian parliament and head of state.

Let us again start with the economy. It can be said that the lari has already established itself as the national currency, as the sole form of tender. However, it must

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also be noted that the introduction of the lari has been followed by significant price increases.

The most important event of the week goes beyond the economy. Despite some pessimistic forecasts, it was decided Azerbaijani oil will go through both Georgia and Russia. It must be noted that it was your proposal to have two transit routes.

There was an interesting report on Russian radio regarding a statement by Konstantin Zatulin, Duma CIS Committee chairman, that Igor Giorgadze, former Georgian security chief, would not be handed over to Russia because Eduard Shevardnadze had tricked Russia over the oil pipeline. He said that the decision had been made in Baku or, possibly, even in Washington, and that Clinton had personally recommended this oil transit route. Zatulin described Clinton as an expert on Soviet geography. Due to the fact that the pipeline will go through Georgia despite Russia's objections, I do not think that Giorgadze will now be found in Moscow, Zatulin said. By saying this, Zatulin supported the charges against Giorgadze and confirmed that he has contacts with certain forces in Russia.

[Shevardnadze] Thank you and good morning. Among the most important economic developments last week, I would single out the decision made in Baku on 9 October at a meeting of the board of directors dealing with the contract on the joint development of three oil wells in the Azerbaijani sector of the Caspian Sea. As you know, this has been described as the project of the century. This document finally determined the routes for the transit of Azerbaijani oil. Azerbaijani oil will reach world markets via Georgian and Russian routes. There is no conflict of interests here: both routes will operate on equal terms.

For us, for Georgia, for the whole people of Georgia, this decision is of vital importance, especially, considering long-term prospects. This decision was made a little earlier in London by the 12 Western oil companies involved in this project of the century and was then finally confirmed in Baku. It was decided that Georgia would become an oil transit country. Apart from economic and material benefits, this means Georgia is recognized as a stable and reliable partner.

I admit that I am happy that my frequent meetings and active dialogue over the past two years with the heads of state of Azerbaijan, the United States, Turkey, Russia, Great Britain, and other countries have been fruitful. This work was going on openly as well as confidentially. My colleagues and I had many meetings with representatives of the consortium and its companies. As you know, 12 major companies set up this consortium. I would like to thank everyone for supporting the Georgian option. It really is a historic development. We may not see all the benefits today, but in two or three years Georgia will see the benefits.

[Oniani] It also means jobs. A lot of jobs will be created.

[Shevardnadze] You are right. It means jobs, an extensive infrastructure that is part of this oil pipeline project, foreign investment, the development of tourism, the improvement of roads, restoration of railways, and so on.

[Oniani] (?At last) this country will be needed.

[Shevardnadze] It will be needed by many countries. Our idea, which we put forward as early as the beginning of 1993 at special meetings of the EU — then called the EC — that the Caucasus and Georgia should become part of a Eurasian corridor, has now borne fruit. A lot of time has passed since then. Those were years of hard work and, as I said, continuous dialogue that was not always easy. I am really happy with the results we achieved.

[Oniani] Excuse me, Mr. Shevardnadze for interrupting you. It is remarkable that this decision was made after 29 August [bomb explosion outside parliament in Tbilisi]. One of the main aims of the 29 August explosion was to prove that Georgia was not a politically stable country. Nevertheless, we can remember how active the world community was, for example, Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Ciller did not postpone his visit. Finally, we have achieved the required result.

[Shevardnadze] I agree with you that this was another example of enormous support for Georgia and its recognition, especially considering 29 August.

Regarding the progress of money reform, it was the most important issue in the economic life of the Republic last week and before that as well. It must be said that there have been rather positive trends in the process.

To tell you the truth we anticipated more problems and obstacles and were preparing to deal with them. According to information from the National Bank, after initial problems the situation has improved in Akhalkalaki and Ninotsminda Districts [two southern districts with a large Armenian population that continued to use Russian rubles in the first days of the introduction of the lari]. I must say that the leadership of the districts and the people have made a lot of effort to overcome the initial problems. The lari has almost — I am saying almost because some minor problems remain — established itself as the sole form of tender. You might have noticed that this has silenced the opponents.

Some problems remain in Akhalkalaki District, especially in connection with the Russian military units

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there. We are conducting talks on these issues and expect this problem to be solved in the next few days. [passage omitted]

Fluctuations in retail prices that have marked the first days of money reform, especially a rise in the prices of some goods and services, is gradually being reversed, and we are returning to pre- reform prices. This process has begun. The prices of potatoes, eggs, apples, cheese, margarine, and other foodstuffs have stabilized. According to data at my disposal, the prices of meat and some other essential foodstuffs have started to drop. I am talking here about market prices. [passage omitted]

Some losses that the people have suffered due to price fluctuations during the reform period will be compensated for, as promised, by a 50 to 60 percent rise in salaries, pensions, and benefits beginning 1 November. I anticipated — it was forecast — that the people would suffer to a certain degree due to price fluctuations. That is why I decided to raise the people's salaries by 50 to 60 percent. This will primarily apply to organizations that are funded from the budget, but it should also apply to both private companies and state-run organizations that operate on a commercial basis. Of course, this will first apply to pensioners, refugees, and people in need.

[Oniani] (?We should welcome) this rise in salaries, and in future pay increases will gradually become a common occurrence.

[Shevardnadze] Of course. It will depend on how we work and the amount of goods the country produces. [passage omitted] Now, regarding the recent statement by Mr. Zatulin, to tell you the truth I did not pay much attention in the past to what he said. His alliance with the Abkhaz separatists, who are criminals, cannibals, and murderers, is well-known. I commented in more detail on Mr. Zatulin's statement at yesterday's meeting with residents of Rustavi.

I would answer your question this way: I do not understand why Russia should have an interest in harboring the terrorist Giorgadze and one or two of his accomplices in the terrorist act [29 August bomb explosion]. I would like to believe that everything concerning this story has failed to reach Russia's supreme authorities. I hope that is the case.

[Oniani] May I continue with this subject? Last week the Ministry of Internal Affairs department for the fight against organized crime and the Borjomi police brought to Tbilisi a so-called human bomb, Pavle Butskhrikidze [alleged to be a suicide bomber who has attempted to assassinate Shevardnadze]. Our listeners know about this.

Only one conclusion can be drawn from this: The bomb explosion of 29 August had been planned several times before. [passage omitted]

[Shevardnadze] In connection with the arrest of the terrorist Butskhrikidze, I would like to say that this is not the end of the story. You said that the 29 August explosion had been planned several times before. There have also been other attempts, about which the public will probably be informed at the right time.

I would say that a real hunt for the head of state has been going on. I would also like to say that the past three years of my life have resembled a walk on a razor-edge. Nevertheless, nothing will undermine my determination to fight, even to my last drop of blood, for a single, democratic, and prosperous Georgia. I am saying this for the attention of ill-wishers who are now hiding in their lairs in Georgia and abroad. They must know that now is a different time, and there is no doubt that in the end good will prevail over evil. Evil will definitely be punished. Perpetrators of evil will be revealed and the people will pay everyone their due. This is the will of God and the harsh verdict of the citizens of Georgia. [passage omitted]

Nadibaidze, Russian Envoy Discuss Military Cooperation

LD1610193995 Tbilisi First Program Television Network in Georgian 1600 GMT 16 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Georgian Defense Minister Lieutenant General Vardiko Nadibaidze received Vladimir Zemskiy, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation to Georgia, and Vladimir Golub, the military attache. They held a sincere dialogue and discussed the widening of military cooperation. It was once again stressed at the meeting that deploying Russian military bases in Georgia was in the interests of both of the countries and that it would facilitate the strengthening of peace and stability in the region.

Ardzinba Reportedly Threatens 'Another Chechnya'

LD1610161895 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1500 GMT 16 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Tbilisi [no date as received] — According to the reports by the sources close to Abkhaz separatist circles, the separatist leader Vladislav Ardzinba commented with derision on the recently held [?September] summit of the foreign ministers of the

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CIS states. "I am not interested in what decisions they make. The CIS, the United Nations, and the European Commission remind me of a soap bubble that may burst any minute. All of their sessions are a formality and I am not interested in them. Yeltsin and Shevardnadze had better mind their own business and leave Abkhazia alone, or else, I will stage another Chechnya for them."

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Estonia

Meri Predicts EU Membership in 'Near Future'

WS1310120495 Tallinn BNS in English 1326 GMT 12 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tallinn, Oct 12, BNS — President Lennart Meri is convinced that Estonia will be the first of the three Baltic states to be granted membership of the European Union. Once Estonia has reached its goal, it will help Latvia and Lithuania to achieve theirs.

Estonia's accession to the European Union will be resolved in the near future, the president said on Tuesday [10 October] while on a visit to Finland.

In Meri's words, the expansion of the EU to include the Baltic states will balance the union's expansion in the Mediterranean region.

The president believes it most likely that Estonia will be the first of the Baltic states to be admitted to the European trading bloc and that it will then promote the movement of Latvia and Lithuania toward EU membership.

"The cooperation among the Baltic states does not rule out a different timetable for their accession to the European Union, since our collaboration only concerns security policy," the president noted.

He added that accession to the EU does not mean that the building of the state has been completed.

"The boundaries of freedom will have to be expanded from century to century," Meri said.

The president assured that Estonia is just as ready to enter the European Union as the Czech Republic, which is generally regarded as the first candidate to be considered as a new member of the union.

UK Foreign Minister: EU 'Not Complete' Without Baltics

WS1610155895 Tallinn BNS in English 1000 GMT 16 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tallinn, Oct 16, BNS — The European Union is not complete without the Baltic states, British Foreign Minister Malcolm Rifkind said during a meeting with Estonian former prime minister, Pro Patria Chairman Mart Laar in Britain.

Laar, who was attending a conference of the British Conservative Party, discussed with Rifkind development plans of the European Union, an adviser of the parliamentary faction of Pro Patria and the Estonian National Independence Party told BNS.

Rifkind noted that the European trading bloc is not complete if Central and East European states, including the Baltic countries, have not integrated into it.

The pace at which the EU is going to expand depends on the speed of development of each applicant, the British foreign minister said.

Laar met during the conference also with former prime minister of Britain, Margaret Thatcher, and the Czech premier, Vaclav Klaus.

He spoke at the conference about political and economic reforms in Estonia and the other Baltic states.

NATO Delegation Arrives For 'Expansion' Talks

LD1710094295 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0900 GMT 17 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A NATO delegation headed by Gebhardt von Moltke, the NATO assistant secretary general for political affairs, arrived in Estonia today to explain NATO's expansion plans.

The NATO experts will first hold talks with a joint delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Defense, and the general staff of the defense forces. Later the NATO delegation will discuss the organization's expansion plans with Defense Minister Andrus Oovel; Indrek Tarand, the chancellor of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and members of the state defense and foreign affairs commissions of the Riigikogu.

'Successful' Participation in NATO Exercises

LD1410135795 Tallinn Estonian Television Network in Estonian 1900 GMT 13 Oct 95

[From the "Aktuaalne Kaamera" program]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] NATO's major exercises, Cooperative Jaguar 1995, in which the Estonian minesweeper Sulev was taking part, were successful for Estonia. This is what Estonian officers told "Aktuaalne Kaamera" on their return from Denmark. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent Rivo Saarna] NATO's exercises were observed by Estonian Defense Forces Commander Lieutenant General Aleksandr Einseln, Captain Roland Leit, the naval commander, and Major Serkki Niitsoo, the acting Air Force chief-of-staff. [passage omitted]

The aim of the exercises was to ensure cooperation in peacekeeping operations, in rescue work when evacuating the civilian population, and in defusing operations. According to Niitsoo, the commander of the exercises, General Joulwan [Supreme Allied Commander Europe]

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was surprised at how well cooperation progressed. [passage omitted]

The Estonian minesweeper Sulev took part in the exercise, in the course of which markings on map and radar were practiced as well as radio communications and searches at sea. In the second part of the naval exercises, Sulev practiced the observation and checking of cargo ships, together with a Swedish, a Belgian, and two German vessels.

[Begin Niitsoo recording] The naval command was well satisfied with cooperation by our Sulev as well as by other vessels. They were also very much surprised that the cooperation went so well. [end recording]

Estonia's participation in the joint exercises was funded by the Partnership for Peace program. According to Niitsoo, the exercises were a significant stage for Estonia in its aspirations toward NATO.

Meri Talks With German Defense Staff Chief

LD1710084295 Tallinn Estonian Television Network in Estonian 1900 GMT 16 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] German Chief of Defense Staff General Klaus Naumann today made a one-day visit to Estonia. Naumann commemorated the dead of the War of Independence and laid a wreath on the grave of German war prisoners in Tallinn.

He met Toomas Savi, speaker of the Riigikogu; Peeter Lorents, chairman of the state defence commission of the Riigikogu; and Defense Minister Andrus Oovel.

In Tallinn, Klaus Naumann met Lieutenant General Aleksander Einseln, commander of the defense forces. Einseln said that Naumann promised to consider assistance to Estonia in activities within the Partnership for Peace program because Estonia has few people with relevant experience.

Naumann was also received by President Lennart Meri in the president's residence in Tallinn. The general assured the president that Germany is prepared to assist Estonia with military training and with technical equipment for the army. The president expressed the hope that Estonia will sometime be defended not only by German arguments, but also by its arms, because this would be the best way to ensure that such arms need never be used. Naumann explained Germany's role in the cooperation agreement between Estonian and German defense forces.

[Begin Naumann recording, in English] We would wish to be of some assistance to our Estonian friends in their attempt to reestablish armed forces, or to establish armed forces, and to train them in a way which fits to the needs of your country, which makes at the same time sure that those armed forces will follow the rules of political control, which is one of the criteria of democracy. [end recording]

Answering a question on what would happen in Europe if Russia carried out its threat to invade the Baltic states, Naumann said that Russia, too, has confirmed with its signature that it will not change its borders by force, and that we have to trust the Russian government on this.

Lithuania

NATO Delegation To Discuss Partnership for Peace

LD1610132395 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 16 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A delegation of high-ranking NATO officials, headed by Gebhart von Moltke, political adviser to the NATO secretary general, which is currently visiting central and eastern European countries, arrived in Lithuania today, the BALTIC NEWS SERVICE reported.

During its visit to eight Partnership [for Peace program] countries, the NATO delegation is providing detailed explanations on the NATO expansion study, adopted on 28 September. The NATO representatives tonight will be meeting the governmental working group, responsible for the preparation of Lithuania's individual Partnership for Peace program. The group, chaired by Deputy Foreign Minister Albinas Januska, includes officials from the President's Office, the parliamentary committees for foreign affairs and national security, the ministries of Foreign Affairs and National Defense. The NATO delegation will also meet with other members of the parliamentary committees for foreign affairs and national security. The guests will hold a news conference at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [words indistinct]

The NATO delegation will leave for Riga tomorrow.

NATO Official on Relations With Russia

LD1610194395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1754 GMT 16 Oct 95

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] VILNIUS, Oct 16 (Interfax) — NATO will do its best to develop constructive relations with Russia, NATO Assistant Secretary General Gebhardt von Moltke said in Vilnius Monday [16 October]. He is responsible for political issues in the NATO Secretariat.

The NATO officer had arrived in the Lithuanian capital to brief the government on the recently released Study on NATO Enlargement.

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According to von Moltke, "Russia is to make a substantial contribution in ensuring security and stability in Europe."

This is why a lot of efforts have been made recently to agree with Russia on wider cooperation in this area, he added.

The diplomat told a news conference after his meeting with the presidential administration, government and Foreign Ministry that "the process of admission of new members in the North Atlantic alliance will be evolutionary and reflecting the interests of the whole Europe."

He added that the sequence and schedule of admission was an issue of a later time, not reflected in the current study.

Commenting on some Russian politicians' threats to Lithuania, the NATO diplomat underlined: "We have no reasons to fear that Russia will violate its obligations it assumed as a member of the U.N. and the OSCE."

He added that NATO was very satisfied with cooperation with Lithuania and hoped to productively develop bilateral relations in the future.

For his part, Lithuanian Deputy Foreign Secretary Albinas Januska said in answer to an Interfax question that there was no direct military danger from Russia at the moment.

He said the threats were designed to probe into the West's possible reaction to their practical implementation.

Januska said both the U.S. and NATO unanimously agreed that such developments would be unacceptable.

Commenting on the recently published "Study on NATO enlargement," Januska underlined: "The document has confirmed that Lithuania has prospects to become a NATO member-state."

Constitution May Be Amended To Accommodate NATO Membership

LD1610205295 Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Oct 95

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Correspondent Lyudmila Lvova] A NATO delegation led by Gebhardt von Moltke, NATO assistant secretary general for political issues, arrived in Vilnius today. The visitors are to familiarize Lithuanian officials with the program for NATO expansion approved in Brussels on 28 September.

In the view of the Seimas' Committee for National Security, however, Lithuania's striving to join NATO runs counter to Article 137 of the country's Constitution, which bans foreign military bases and mass destruction weapons in the republic. That is why the NATO expansion program and the contradictions that have arisen were discussed at a sitting of the committee where some members insisted that debates be open immediately on amending Article 137 of the Lithuanian Constitution.

Speaking at a news conference envoy Gebhardt von Moltke assessed positively Lithuanian cooperation with the North Atlantic Alliance. Answering questions about NATO's reaction to the threats to the Baltic states voiced by Russia, the envoy remarked that these statements have not been confirmed as the Russian Government's official position. He also stressed that there were no grounds to believe that Russia, itself member of many international organizations, would flout established international laws.

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